THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARALLELS BETWEEN THE TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON AND JEWISH LITERATURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY (BETWEEN THE CLOSING CENTURIES BCE AND THE TALMUDIC ERA) AND THE NEW TESTAMENTE

Bankole P. Davies-Browne

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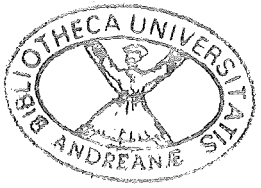

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ABSTRACT

The TSol is a Christian composition of late antiquity which narrates the story about how King Solomon built the Temple of God with the aid of demons he subjugated. Comparative analysis between the TSol and Jewish literature of late antiquity (between the closing centuries BCE and the Talmudic era), and the New Testament is primarily to establish any literary dependence and explore the nature of contact between the TSol and these materials; and also to isolate Jewish elements in the TSol. The Jewish materials discussed are the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon, Pseudo-Philo, certain Qumran documents (11PsAp^{a} and the Copper scroll), Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Song of Songs, rabbinic literature, and certain Aramaic incantation texts. My research has shown that parallels do exist between the TSol, the Jewish literature discussed and the New Testament. The parallels between the TSol and the aforementioned literature are twofold: verbal and conceptual. Verbal parallels occur in the form of technical terminology; quotations, allusions and echoes. The second type of parallels appears in the form of motifs, themes, structural elements and ideas. These parallels seem to dominate in my analysis. There is no need to explain the parallels between the TSol and the literature discussed in terms of literary dependence. I have attempted to demonstrate that these parallels in most of the literature are indicative of indirect influence through shared use of the biblical tradition: motifs, stories and themes regarding King Solomon; a common fund of oral tradition(s) regarding Solomon's magical power over demonic world; shared literary language, milieu, and cultural conventions. Moreover, the author of the TSol seems to have recycled Jewish materials pertaining to Solomon and related motifs in his work. Apart from the New Testament, the best case for a direct influence of a Jewish work on the TSol is Tobit.

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General Introduction

Introduction

The biblical story about Solomon (1 Kings 1-11, and 2 Chronicles 1-9) describes Solomon's unparalleled greatness as a result of his God-given wisdom, and his downfall. Several episodes that constitute the biblical narrative of Solomon appear to revolve around the notion that the king was endowed with wisdom from God; consequently, he was a king par excellence in all he put his heart to—his literary activity, his judicial savoir-faire, his passionate love for foreign women, and architectural achievements; even in his downfall Solomon was remarkable. However, as they appear in post-biblical writings of late antiquity, some of the biblical elements regarding King Solomon took on individual identities or lives of their own in a plethora of Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions.

The Testament of Solomon[1] is a combination of haggadic material and demonological (medico-magic) elements. The former seems to provide a framework against which the demonological elements were organised (vide infra). The Testament describes how Solomon with the aid of demons was able to build the Temple of God. We are also told how he fell because of his love for a particular foreign woman which consequently led to his apostasy and downfall. He then wrote the testament to warn others of his pitfall. The TSol also appears to be a kind of manual to help against the evil power of demons. The knowledge disclosed in the TSol is used for both prophylactic and therapeutic purpose against the demonic realm. When compared with Jewish and Christian canonical

[1] TSol from henceforth.

works scholars seem to have paid little attention to the so-called pseudepigraphal works[2], including the TSol, published in James H. Charlesworth's two volumes of The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. References to the TSol have been made in scholarly discussions of other materials although most often they appear incidental. However, useful studies specific to the TSol and other traditions have appeared in the last decade. A work by D. C. Duling appears in the sixth volume of Anchor Bible Dictionary.[3] Pablo A. Torijano discusses the TSol in his recently published book[4] where he attempts to trace the characterisation of King Solomon in late antiquity paying special attention to the king as an astrologer, magician and Hermetic sage. Although Torijano seems to accept the TSol as a Jewish work he has suggested a framework containing small exorcisitc units in which the identities of the demons are revealed. Additionally, Torijano discusses the "son of David" title and the astrological materials of the TSol (chapters 8 and 18).

Date, Author, Provenance and History of Manuscripts

Dating the TSol continues to pose a problem for scholars because of its syncretistic and composite nature. This is compounded by a complex textual history. The document has been reworked down to the Middle Ages, as linguistic

[2] The pseudepigrapha are generally referred to as a modern collection writings of late antiquity that may aid our understanding of early Judaism and of Christian origins. This is an arbitrary collection of miscellaneous documents that lack of an ancient common denominator of provenance, dates or context. Unless otherwise indicated English translations are from James H. Charlesworth volumes: James H. Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (2 vols. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983-85).
[3] D. C. Duling, "Solomon, Testament of," ABD 6:117-19.
[4] Pablo A. Torijano, Solomon The Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition (JSJ Sup73; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002).

and textual evidence suggest.[5] This also has an impact on ascertaining a date and provenance. When it comes to dating the TSol some pertinent questions need to be asked. What do we intend to date? Are we dating the TSol or the traditions within the TSol? J. Harding and L. Alexander make a salient point when they emphasise that dating the traditions in the TSol is not the same as dating the testament as a particular text.[6] Attempts therefore have been made to date the testament based on a comparison between traditions in the TSol and other similar traditions. Perhaps the emphasis on the dating should be placed on the traditions within the TSol and not the TSol per se. The postulated dates for the composition of the TSol lie between the late medieval dating and a first or second century CE date. F. F. Fleck who first published the Colbert MS in 1837 has suggested that the testament is a Byzantine document.[7] This view is supported by V. M. Istrin, a Russian scholar, who has pointed out that the full testament had not been composed until 1200 CE although he acknowledged that there were pre-Christian elements in the TSol.[8] Duling avers that a medieval dating is "no longer tenable."[9] F. A. Bornemann whose German translation appeared in 1844 has argued for an early fourth-century CE date based on parallel demonological

[5] Chester C. McCown, The Testament of Solomon (UNT 9; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), 28-43.
[6] See James Harding and L. Alexander's comment on the difficulties encountered in dating the Testament of Solomon in "Dating the Testament of Solomon," (posted 28 May 1999). Online: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/date_tsol.html.
[7] F. F. Fleck in J. P. Migne's PG 122.1315-58. For Fleck's comment that the TSol is a Byzantine document, see 1315.
[8] Since I was unable to get access to this material I have relied on the comments of others regarding Istrin's work. See D. C. Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 88, note 12 in OTP 1. McCown, The Testament of Solomon , 105.
[9] Duling, "The Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect," JSP 2 (1998): 87-112, especially, 87.

elements in Lactantius' Divinae Institutiones and the TSol.[10] C. H. Toy agrees with this date.[11] Chester C. McCown has suggested an earlier date based on the following observations: the allusion of TSol 26:5 in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, the fluent Koinê Greek of the testament. In addition, McCown notes that the allusion to the cornerstone attributed to the Temple was not utilised before this imagery became Christianised in the process of representing Christ, and finally the demonology closely parallels that mentioned in Origen Contra Celsum.[12] McCown, however, has settled for an early third century date, with which M. R. James has concurred.[13] An even earlier date is put forward by F.C. Conybeare based on the Christian elements present in the TSol: the stress on the name Emmanuel and its numerical value 644 (TSol 6:8); the writing of the name on the forehead; and the use of the word ταυυσθείς, the patripassian conceptions. [14] K. Kohler agrees with Conybeare's suggested date but based his argument on the fact that demonology in the TSol is pre-Talmudic demonology and the TSol reflects similar demonology ridiculed by Origen in the third century.[15] A number of scholars including G. Salzberger have followed the conclusions reached by Conybeare and Kohler.[16] K. Preisendanz, however, has

[10] F. A. Bornemann, ZHT 14/3 (1844): 9-56. The Divinae Institutiones is a summary of Christian teaching written ca. 305-313 CE.
[11] C. H. Toy, "Solomon, Testament of," JE 11: 448-49. A. von Harnach and E. Schürer have expressed caution regarding this date; see Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litertur bis Eusebius (2 vols; Leipzig: J. C. Henrichs, 1893), 1:858 and Schürer, Geschichte des judischen Volks im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (3 vols; Leipzig, 1901-1909), 3:419-20.
[12] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 106-08.
[13] Ibid., and M. R. James, "The Testament of Solomon," JTS 24 (1923):467-68.
[14] F. C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," JQR 11(1898): 1-45, 13-14.Conybeare's English translation is based on MS P.
[15] K. Kohler, "Demonology", JE 4:578.
[16] G. Salzberger, Die Salomosage in der Semitischen Literatur (Berlin: Max Harrwitz, 1907), 10.

suggested that the earlier form of the testament could be dated to the first or second centuries CE.[17]

It is difficult to ascertain who the author of the TSol is since this is not clearly discernible in the Testament due to its syncretistic nature. There are those like Conybeare,[18] Kohler[19] and Harnack[20] who think that the TSol is a Christian revision of a Jewish work. Toy accepts the author to be a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian[21] and so does McCown.[22] I am inclined to follow recent scholarship including Duling[23] who have now accepted the author to be a Greek-speaking Christian who might have incorporated some Jewish materials into his work.

Four provenances are suggested with great difficulties by scholars because of syncretistic aspect of the TSol. They are Asia Minor, Babylonia, Egypt, and Syria-Palestine. The suggested Babylonian provenance is based on the seeming similarities between the TSol demonological elements and those of the Talmud and the Aramaic Incantation texts from Babylon. The connection between ailments and disease with specific demons in the TSol can also be found in Babylonian documents such as inscribed incantation texts. Additionally, the significance of the "son of David" title in exorcising demons has also been

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[17] K. Preisendanz, "Salomo," in Paulys Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft Supplement 8 (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1956), cols. 660-704 especially, col. 689. This is a lengthy article that provides useful references.
[18] Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 12.
[19] Kohler, "Demonology," 4:578.
[20] Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litertur bis Eusebius, 1:858.
[21] Toy, "Solomon, Testament of," 11.449.
[22] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 109.
[23] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 1:943.

perceived to be connected with the TSol. Elements in the Babylonian Talmud with reference to the Ashmedai and Solomon episode are also found in the TSol.[24] McCown did not even consider Babylonia as an option and he has expressed the view that the demonology in the TSol is pre-Talmudic.[25]

The second option suggested by scholars is the Egyptian provenance. Duling sees Egypt as an obvious possibility. One of the reasons for this is because Egypt has been perceived as the melting pot of ancient magical lore. Similarities with the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM from henceforth), especially where Solomon's name was mentioned, have also been noted. Other factors which might have had an impact on placing the TSol in Egypt are the thirty-six decans in TSol 18 which is believed to have originated in Egypt; the mention of the wind demon, Lix Tetrax, in chapter 7; and a certain degree of association between TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon.[26] Alexander favours Egypt because of its literary and magical affinities with Egyptian texts hence he states that "Egypt is most probably its place of origin."[27] Although McCown considers Egypt he did not place it as a first option. His argument against Egypt is the lack of Gnostic influence.[28]

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[24] Ibid.
[25] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 56-59, 70-71 and 110; see also Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," 90.
[26] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 1.943-44; "The Testament of Solomon," 90. See also Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 14.
[27] P. S. Alexander, "Testament of Solomon," HJP 3,1:372-79, especially, 374.
[28] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 110.

The third option is Syria-Palestine. Duling acknowledges this as a more likely provenance for the TSol. He argues that the Solomonic magical tradition was well established in Palestine Judaism, and that Jews and Samaritans were renowned for magic.[29] McCown argues against this provenance because of the Greek flavour of the TSol since popular Christianity was Aramaic rather than Greek. Although McCown argues against all the aforementioned provenances he does not object to Asia Minor as a possible provenance.[30]

As I have already intimated, the textual history of the testament is rather complex. The textual witnesses of the TSol survived in at least sixteen manuscripts, ten of which have been grouped under three main recensions according to McCown (A, B and C). These manuscripts date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Recension A is represented by three manuscripts (HIL) while recensions B and C are represented by MSS PQ and MSS STUVW respectively.[31] McCown has conjectured that recensions A and B are revisions of the original testament while recension C is a revision of the latter or based on a similar text type.[32] There are many agreements between C and B. The latter on the whole is a fuller text while A is shorter in many places hence McCown favours A as superior and closer to the original TSol. His edition is based on recensions A, B and C. MSS E and N, dated eighteenth and fifteenth/sixteenth

[29] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 1:944.
[30] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 110.
[31] For more about the characteristics and dates of the various manuscripts, see McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 10-28, 113-15, 123-26 and Harding and Alexander, Dating the Testament of Solomon."
[32] McCown, The Testament of Solomon," 33-34.

centuries respectively, were discovered in Jerusalem. McCown did not group these manuscripts under any recension since they were discovered just prior to the publication of his edition. MS D (Dionysius monastery, Mt Athos, No. 132, fol. 367-374) is a sixteenth century manuscript which contains interesting materials. It is a haggadic story about Solomon building the Temple with the aid of the demons minus the elaborations of the revelation of the demons and medico-magical elements. Scholars have pointed out that this text is not the actual TSol but a biography of Solomon.[33] McCown has further pointed out that this text is a revision of another text (a hypothetical d) which lay behind the TSol.[34] Besides the three recensions, and MSS D, E and N, there are manuscripts in Syriac, Arabic dating between sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Additionally, there were also four fragmentary texts among the Vienna Papyri (Papyrus Vindobonensis G 29 436, G 35 939, G 330 Fr.a and Fr. b) which are so far the earliest textual witness, dating from the fifth or sixth centuries. These fragments overlap with sections of chapter 18 (vv. 27-28 and 33-40). [35]

McCown's eclectic edition, although pivotal in the TSol research, is not without problem. Scholars have recognised the lack of coherence and confusion of his treatment of recension C, MS D, and the newly found manuscripts E and N. All of these are treated in different sections of his book. Further, although he favours

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[33] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 10-12; and 88-97* for the Greek text; see also Duling "Testament of Solomon," 1.937-38.
[34] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 32-33.
[35] These fragments were first edited by K. Preisendanz, see Preisendanz, "Ein Weiner Papyrusfragment zum Testamentum Salomonis," EOS 48 (1956): 161-56. Robert Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27-28, 33-40," in Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.) Festschrift zum 100-jähringen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Vienna: Brüder Hollinek, 1983), Textband, 294-304.

recension A over B because the former is a shorter text, he has not been consistent in his introduction and conclusion of the testament in following his conviction, as he appears to follow B instead of A in some instances.[36] Due to the discovery of the Vienna papyrus Robert Daniel has argued that recension B, the longer version, is in fact superior to recension A (an abbreviated version of text types similar to B) since the Vienna fragments are closest to McCown N.[37] Only P and N include 14:3-16:1 hence contains the explicit Christian comments of 15:10-12. James does not accept McCown's theory of the evolution of the TSol beginning with MS D although he agrees with most of his conclusions.[38] As Harding and Alexander rightly point out, none of McCown hypothetical stages of redaction really exists. They are merely speculative.[39] The text that McCown has produced is the basis for Duling's English translation in Charlesworth's two volumes of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Translations of the TSol exist in both German and English, some are incomplete and none is faultless.[40] H. M. Jackson has made some pertinent contributions and comments including corrections to Duling's English translation in conjunction with McCown's edition.[41]

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[36] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 33. Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," 89-90.
[37] Recension A is a shorter version of a text type common to recension B and the discovered papyrus fragments. The priority of the longer version (viz. Rec B) is indicative of 18:18 to the end of chapter 18 which recension A omits and McCown has supplied some of the omitted materials from MS P. See Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon," 295. McCown has placed N under recension B. McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 113.
[38] James "Testament of Solomon," 467-68.
[39] See Harding and Alexander, "Dating the Testament of Solomon," Online: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/date_tsol.html
[40] There other translations including Duling's and Conybeare's English translations. M. Whittaker's English translation in AOT (ed. H.F.D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 733-51.Whittaker's translation is part of McCown's text.There is Paul Riessler's German translations in his Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel (4th edition; Frieburg, Heidelberg: Kerle, 1979 [1928]), 1251-12-62 and Preisendanz's German translation of the Vienna papyrus. McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 28-30, and sources cited there.
[41] H. M. Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," JSP 19 (1988):19-60.

In my research although I shall be using Duling's English texts I shall nonetheless consider various manuscripts of the three main recensions A, B and C for any variant reading for individual passages that I shall refer to. Although McCown favours those of A over B witnesses of some of the manuscripts of the latter have proved useful, for example, MS P has a block of materials containing TSol 14:3-16:1 which is absent from other manuscripts except N. [42] As we shall see the word διαθήκη that gives the testament its name, apart from the titles of all three recensions, occurs only in MSS P, H and N. As regards to recensions A and B I am very cautious not to favour one over the other. Each must be considered for its own merits in understanding the TSol.

Genre

Besides the occurrence in the titles of MSS P,Q, I, V, and W the word, "testament" (διαθήκη), appears twice in the testament in TSol 15:14 (McCown, recension MSP), and in 26:8 (MSS HN). Doubts, however, have been expressed as to whether the TSol is really a testament. It also happens that these are the two passages which contain the rationale for writing the testament. There is no doubt that modern scholarship is correct to argue that the TSol does not conform to the traditional testamentary framework.[43] The main identifying feature of a

[42] Reading MSS HL at 14:2 and the grammar form of MS L reveal a dislocation of a text in chapter 14.

[43] Several structural elements have been posited for a testamentary genre but three basic elements that seem to stand out are: a historical retrospective in the form of a narrative about the biblical figure; an ethical comment or exhortation; and prediction of the future. For more on a testamentary genre see Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," 98-101, and notes cited there. J. J. Collins, "The Testamentary Literature in Recent Scholarship," in Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters (ed. Robert A Kraft and George W.E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 268-78. H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A

testament often cited but lacking in the TSol is a "discourse delivered in anticipation of imminent death."[44] Some of the elements of a typical testament may be missing in the TSol but this does not make the TSol an aberration of the testamentary genre. As H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge rightly point out, there are variations of the testamentary genre as displayed in the individual testament within the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The TSol is certainly unlike a characteristic testament such as the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs or the Testament of Job in many ways. The narrative begins with the third person and then moves into the first person. Moreover, the exhortatory and eschatological elements which are quite common in testaments are nonetheless present in the TSol although they are few. Ethical overtones are implicit in Solomon's downfall as a consequence of his relationship with a foreign woman. There is allusion to eschatological element in the statement in 26:8 ("in order that those who hear might pray about, and pay attention to, the last things [τοῖς ἐσχάτοις]"). Moreover, there is prediction about the future pertaining to Solomon's fate and his kingdom. One may safely conclude that the TSol superficially resembles a traditional testament such as the ones already mentioned.

Speculative attempts have been posited in order to explain why the TSol is referred to as a testament since it does not fit precisely into a testamentary genre. Daniel suggests that the author might want the TSol to be understood as

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Commentary (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 29-47; and Anita B. Kolenkow, "Testaments" in Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters, 259-67.

[44] Collins, "Testaments" in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period (ed. Michael E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 325.

an official document, viz. a "will" or a "testament"[45] while Duling conjectures that the author might use the term in order to preserve this work since it contains "midrashic legend of Solomon's magical wisdom and his medico-magical lore."[46] McCown has intimated a connection between covenant (a contract between Solomon and the demons) and the last will and testament.[47] If the aforementioned notes in 15:14 and 26:8 regarding the testament were the author's hand and not a later redactor we really do not know what his intentions were calling this work a testament. Perhaps he intended to convey that the testament is simply a document that contains knowledge Solomon wished to pass on to others. The author might have utilised the term in a general sense to indicate that the document contains information for later generation bequeathed by a king to his people—a kind of a legacy but at the same time he chose the technical term, "testament" to give credence to his work. However, if the occurrence of the technical term διαθήκη is a work of a later redactor then he might have perceived the document in front of him as a testament hence the TSol in this sense did acquire a testamentary authority by virtue of the usage of the term διαθήκη.

The chapters of the TSol are divided into smaller demonological units pertaining to Solomon's interaction with various demons. Elements within each of this unit although not consistent throughout seem to tell us about the identity of each demon; their activities; the thwarting agents; the binding, sealing or imprisoning

[45] Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27-28, 33-40," 295 note 3.
[46] Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," 100-101.
[47] McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," JPOS 2 (1922): 22-23.

of the demons and tasks they were consigned to by Solomon. These features do not necessarily occur in this order. Outside these units are narratives which are haggadic materials some of which are based on the biblical story regarding Solomon. There are however scenarios which are not biblical such as the introduction in chapter 1, King Adarkes' letter to Solomon, and the episode about Solomon, the old man and his son. The work should be accepted simply as a testament. Although it contains magical elements it is strictly not a "magical" text since it contains demonological lore finely interwoven with elaborate haggadic materials about a renowned OT figure.

Methodological Considerations

Although there are widespread methodological issues[48] when dealing with pseudepigrapha in my treatment of the TSol I shall focus on two main methodological concerns below. The first deals with distinguishing between Jewish and Christian compositions. The second is evaluating parallels or points of contact between texts.

I. Jewish Versus Christian

A problem area in the study of pseudepigrapha pertains to origins and transmission. The concern already expressed about the TSol is not whether the testament in its present form is Jewish but whether it is an original Jewish

[48] Robert Kraft in his article has highlighted some of the serious methodological challenges dealing with the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. See "The Pseudepigrapha and Christianity Revisited: Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," JSJ 32 (2001): 371-95. This article is developed from an earlier one, "Pseudepigrapha in Christianity" in Tracing the Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha (ed. by John C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Georgia: Scholars Press, 1994), 55-86.

composition reworked by Christians. The general consensus amongst scholars is that the testament as it now stands is a Christian work. The testament is transmitted by and circulated amongst Christians in a language used by Christians. It has been pointed out earlier that some scholars believed that the TSol was originally a Jewish work although there is no evidence that the TSol was ever extant in Hebrew or Aramaic. An attempt to define what is Christian and Jewish can be fraught with problems. Not only are definitions arbitrary but religious categories can be complex and varied. James Davila has listed seven useful criteria which he referred to as Jewish "signature feature(s)"[49] although as he rightly points out these Jewish signature features can be applied mainly to Zadokite rather than Enochic Judaism.[50] These positive criteria which are based on the contents of the text may aid in isolating Jewish texts from Christian compositions. Briefly, (i) there should be evidence of Jewish themes from the Hebrew Bible; (ii) if the language is not in Hebrew there should be enough evidence to suggest that the work was translated from Hebrew; (iii) one would expect a Jewish text to focus on the Jewish cult such as the priesthood, the temple, ritual purity, and Sabbaths; (iv) there should be concern on the Jewish law/ torah and halakhah; (v) interest in eschatology connected with redeemer figures or divine mediators; (vi) evidence of Jewish national interests and polemics against gentile polytheistic religions(vii) one should ask whether reading the text as Jewish composition yield a greater pay off? If this is not the case then the text should be taken as a Christian composition.

[49] I am here using Davila's nomenclature.
[50] See Davila, http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/jrd4_pubs.html.

The process of isolating Jewish from Christian compositions is not always easy. Besides, there are those who were both Jewish and Christian hence the distinction between what is Christian and Jewish can be tricky. Kraft in his aforementioned article[51] has pinpointed that some documents may lack overt Christian elements or Christian signature feature(s) and scholars may be hasty to label such documents as Jewish when they may be Christian. Further, he raises the issue about scholars hesitating to label materials which were transmitted, circulated and preserved by Christians in language used by Christians as Christian because they may sound Jewish. Christians not only appropriate portions of the Jewish scriptures but saw themselves as legitimate owner and protectors of this tradition. Could it be that these supposedly Jewish elements in the TSol are actually Christian?

Davila not only reiterates some of Kraft's observations regarding Christian composition that may sound Jewish but in his analysis of the possible Christian and Jewish compositions drew two main conclusions which I find useful as a starting point. Firstly, he expresses the difficulty in distinguishing originally Jewish works that has been transmitted in Gentile Christian circles. In certain cases there is absence of Christian signature features; moreover, Jewish works which have been redacted may be impossible to isolate from Christian compositions. Secondly, the use of positive criteria may be useful to identify texts likely to be

[51] Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha and Christianity Revisited: Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," JSJ 32 (2001): 371-95.

Jewish while the absent of Christian signature features in these texts does not do so.

Kraft (and Davila too) urges scholars to accept a "default" position for these texts until the texts are proven otherwise. In other words, accept the texts as Christian as a starting point until it is established otherwise by positive criteria. It is quite possible that Christians produce "Jewish" sounding documents.[52] Davila has further posited three criteria which I find useful in working with pseudepigrapha. I am here closely following Davila's comments:[53]

A) We should assume that works with signature features of Judaism and no Christian signature features should be regarded as Jewish compositions.

B) Texts with signature features of Judaism and Christianity may be categorised either as Jewish composition that may have undergone minor Christian redaction during transmission, a Jewish composition heavily reworked by Christians or works composed by Jewish Christians.

C) All other documents including those without Jewish or Christian signature features should be regarded as Christian compositions. The third applied to dealing with the TSol.

I shall therefore be comparing clearly Jewish materials and the NT alongside the TSol in order to isolate some of the Jewish elements in the latter and also finding

[52] Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha and Christianity Revisited," 371-95.
[53] See Davila, http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/jrd4_pubs.html

points of contact between the TSol and these texts. This brings me to the second methodological problem of evaluating the parallels.

II. The Use of Parallels

Recently, a great deal of attention has been given to studies on parallels between the canonical Christian literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as rabbinic, Hellenistic and Gnostic literatures. It seems that very little time has been dedicated to the pseudepigrapha in this regard. The use of parallels in biblical studies as a means to explore points of contact between texts, literatures and documents although invaluable does have a potential for misuse. To embark on such a task one ought to bear in mind Samuel Sandmel's caution against "parallelomania" in his seminal article where he spoke about the potential for misuse of parallels.[54] Davila in an unpublished work entitled "The Perils of Parallels: 'Parallelomania' Revisited" [55] started off with Sandmel's article highlighting the potential pitfalls of alleged parallels. Davila in his introduction gives a brief review of the works of Shemaryahu Talmon, James G. Frazer, Meir Malul and Jonathan Z. Smith. He mentions the contrastive, typological and comparative approaches to evaluating parallels but thinks that the comparative approach continues to be useful. He listed five different types of parallels with some subtypes based on a comparative approach to parallels. I am largely following Davila here. Briefly, the parallels are: (i) Linguistic Parallels. A subtype is Comparative philology. This category includes lexicographical analysis of

[54] Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," JBL 81(1962): 1-13.
[55] Davila, "The Perils of Parallels: 'Parallelomania' Revisited."

words and this may involve working across different languages or within the same a language, study of hapax legomena; comparisons in morphology, syntax, orthograph and prosody may also be utilised. A second subtype is translations. This is linguistic parallels between unrelated languages. (ii) The second category is verbal parallels. This happens when there is similarity in wording between two texts which occur in the form of quotations, allusions and echoes;[56] and a second subtype consists of technical terminology. Quotations are verbatim or near verbatim use of one text by another while allusions repeat language of another text without verbatim use. As Davila rightly points out allusions can be difficult ascertain when the authors do not signal their sources. Echoes, unfortunately, are not so clear either since when an author repeats the language of another text he could be either alluding to that text or "drawing on stock phrases and images." Technical terminology is parallels which do not include quotations; they are parallel words used in a specialised and technical manner. (iii) The third category of parallels is conceptual. These are parallels between texts which are not verbal. They may appear in the form of structure, themes, motifs, and ideas. (iv) The fourth type of parallels is models. These are tools utilised mainly by social anthropology in order to develop "cross-cultural categories of human experience and institutions for use in studying specific cultures." (v) A final category is intertextual parallels.

[56] J. Paulien makes a distinction between allusions and echoes, see "Elusive Allusions: The Problematic Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," BR 33 (1988): 37-53.

Davila has also provided ten criteria which are guidelines for evaluating and formulating parallels in order to determine whether or not they are valid.[57] Michael J. Gilmour has also mentioned some of these useful guidelines.[58] I shall however be using some of Davila's criteria in my comparative analysis since they are more coherent and concise. (1) The first and essential point is for us to make clear what is being compared to what, and how. (2) A parallel between A and B does not necessarily mean that one is borrowing from the other. If this is so one must be able to show the direction of borrowing. Furthermore, borrowings can take different forms. Some of these are (i) direct influence; (ii) indirect influence; (iii) common ancestry and (iv) parallel development from the same social circumstances. The last two seems more complicating: (v) mediated connection is when one of the two parallel sources is influenced indirectly by a third source(s) which is dependent on the two sources; (vi) convergent evolution are parallels arisen independently when different texts and movements reached similar conclusions independently to similar problems. (3) Similarities and differences should be taken into account. (4) Elements should be compared within their own cultural and linguistic contexts. (5) There is also caution of the fallacy of the middle term. (6) Another rule of thumb is that the more distant allegedly parallel elements are in time and space, the less plausible the parallel becomes. (7) Patterns or clusters of parallels are more significant than isolated or

[57] Davila, "The Perils of Parallels: 'Parallelomania' Revisited." See also Konrad R. Schaeffer, "Zechariah 14: A Study in Allusions," CBQ 57 (1995): 66-91.
[58] Michael J. Gilmour, The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature (SBL 10; Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 47-80.

occasional parallels.[59] (8) The more widely shared the parallel, the more general its significance probably is. (9) Comparisons that imply an evolutionary goal and (10) those which cannot be falsified must be treated with caution. Several conclusions can be drawn from parallels. I will list some of the basic conclusions here. Again I shall be closely following Davila. Parallels may indicate direct literary influence of one document or text on another. Indirect or mediated literary influence may suggest shared use of literary source(s). Parallel in ideas may suggest familiarity with a certain work, set of doctrines or view point. It may also be indicative of shared cultural patterns or background. It may assist scholars to construct a historical trajectory of an idea or set of ideas; to determine the Sitz im Leben or meaning of a difficult text; to determine the membership of the author in more or less defined social group; to determine the date of an artefact, document story or social custom.

My main intention in this research is not to date the TSol or locate a provenance as this still remains difficult to ascertain. I intend to establish what kind of relationship exists between the TSol and well-established Jewish literature of late antiquity. Duling has recommended for future research in the TSol the specific point of contact between the TSol and OT Apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, as well as other ancient literatures of the period.[60] Was the TSol dependent on any of the aforesaid literature and if so, to what degree and what type of dependency? Perhaps, I shall be able to establish the degree of "Jewishness" in the TSol or the

[59] Gilmour, The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature, 52.
[60] Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," 103.

type of Christianity that produced the TSol. I intend to find parallels between the TSol and Jewish literature of late antiquity, as well as the NT in order to determine the degree of direct dependence of the former on the latter. I shall focus on materials between the closing centuries BCE and the Talmudic era. The Jewish materials I shall consider are the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon, Pseudo-Philo, certain Qumran documents such 11PsAp^{a} and the Copper scroll, the writings of Josephus (Jewish Antiquities), the Solomonic Corpus: Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Song of Songs; rabbinic literature including the Tosefta, Talmuds, Mishnah and Midrashim; Aramaic incantation texts and the New Testament. While Aristobulus, Ben Sira, Eupolemus and 2 Baruch and 1 Enoch fall within the aforementioned period and alluded to Solomon they offer very little or no contribution to our understanding of the relationship between TSol and Jewish literature of this period. As for the magical texts such as texts from Cairo Genizah and the Sepher Ha Razim treatise they will not be considered. The former lies outside the period of study while the latter, although it mentions Solomon in the chain of magic tradition, does not bear any relevant parallels with the TSol. The Targum Sheni, despite its fascinating story about Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, also is a late work and therefore will not be discussed here. The tradition concerning Solomon in these works is a reflection of the OT tradition. I shall begin with the biblical tradition about Solomon in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles in as recorded in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX and then the canonical composition attributed to Solomon, which I shall refer to as the Solomonic corpus, before moving on to the rest of the other literature I intend to discuss

here. Throughout this thesis I will indicate my own English translations by "bd-b" and underline some of the quoted texts for emphasis.

I hope through the aforementioned methodological considerations one will be able to establish whether or not the TSol is dependent on or influenced by other literatures of antiquity and if so to what degree. Parallels can be indicative of the influence of ideas or shared cultural background. The process of evaluating parallels may shed light on the type of Christianity that the TSol represents.

Chapter 1

1 Kings and 2 Chronicles
I. 1 Kings

Introduction

The consensus amongst scholars is that the Book of Kings is a composite work which was originally pre-exilic but underwent some redactional activities by the Deuteronomist(s)[1] in the exilic period. [2] The pre-exilic materials ascribe positive traits to Solomon but it appears that this view was tempered with pessimistic overtones by D.[3] Three sources are at least evident in 1 Kings: The Book of the Acts of Solomon (ספר דברי שלמה) which contains the acts of Solomon and his wisdom (1 Kgs 11:41);[4] the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (1 Kgs 14:19); and the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (1 Kgs 14:29). In the discussion below of 1 Kings I shall not discuss details relevant to 2 Chronicles as this will be discussed in a section immediately following, "The book of Kings."

Two strands of traditions which are evident in this book are the pre-deuteronomic and the deuteronomic strands; the former consists of the older materials. M. Weinfeld has intimated that it is possible that the pre-

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[1] D henceforth. This may represent the individual or school that was responsible for the deuteronomic redaction.
[2] Iain W. Provan, 1 and 2 Kings (Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, 1997), 28-30; Gwilym H. Jones, 1 and 2 Kings. Based on the Revised Standard Version (vol. 1; NCBC; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans/ London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 28-61. See also the introductory comments in Simon J. De Vries, 1 Kings (WBC 12; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985).
[3] Provan, 1 and 2 Kings, 30-32.
[4] Some scholars may argue that this was not simply an annalistic source like the "Books of Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel" but a fuller account of Solomon's achievements with special emphasis on his wisdom. See J. Liver, "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," Bib 58 (1967): 75-101; Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 57-61. This passage could have either contributed to

deuteronomic version of Solomon's dream at Gibeon originally entailed "technical" wisdom necessary for the construction of the Temple and not D's version of judicial and moral wisdom.[5] The pre-deuteronomic characterisation of Solomon's wisdom is located in 1 Kgs 2: 5-9; 3:16-27; 5:9-14 and 10:1-10, 23-24. As for D the focus is not on the prodigious aspect of Solomon's wisdom but rather his judicial intellect.[6] Although R. B. Y. Scott accepted the two strands of traditions theory concerning Solomon's wisdom he has nonetheless posited that the passages 5:9-14 and 10:1-10 are legendary post-deuteronomic accretions.[7] The category of wisdom in these passages as argued by Weinfeld[8] does not necessarily have to be a post-deuteronomic accretion because wisdom described in 5:9-14 was also attested in literature of antiquity. This aspect of wisdom presented in the aforementioned passage also existed in Mesopotamia and Egypt before the time of Solomon.[9]

Chapters 3-11

1 Kings has dedicated the first eleven chapters to the succession and reign of King Solomon. Solomon started off as a wise, ideal king and a builder but ended his reign as an apostate king. Both positive and negative traits of the king are prefaced by dreams.[10] The first occurred when he asked for an

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the flowering of the Solomonic tradition(s) or an indication of an existing Solomonic tradition(s) if its occurrence here was the work of a redactor.

[5] M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 254.

[6] Ibid., 255.

[7] R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," VTS 3 (1955): 262-79.

[8] Weinfeld has based his argument on the work of A. Alt ("Die Weisheit Salomos," Kleine Schriften II [Munich. 1953], 90-99).

[9] Weinfeld, 255; see also Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 148.

[10] Helen A. Kenik, Design for Kingship. The Deuteronomist Narrative Technique in 1 Kings 3: 14-15 (SBLDS 69; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 170, 200-207. Kenik has discussed Solomon's dreams in relation to kingship.

understanding heart in Gibeon; and the second dream theophany in 1 Kgs 9:2,[11] is followed by the negative traits of King Solomon.

The two main motifs that are immediately apparent as one reads these chapters are Solomon's wisdom and the building of the Temple.[12] Although it can be said that these themes are not mutually exclusive of each other a connection between the two is not as obvious as in 2 Chronicles. The predilection of the root חכם or its derivative in chapters 3-11 of 1 Kings (3:12, 28; 5:9 [4:29 Evv], 10 [4:30 Evv] (x3), 11 [4:31 Evv], 14 [4:34 Evv], 26 [5:12 Evv]; 6:21 [5:7 Evv]; 7:14; 10:4, 6, 7, 8, 23, 24; 11:41) is indicative of the importance of the wisdom motif.[13] B. Porten has argued that the role of wisdom became minimal after the reign of Solomon.[14] Furthermore, A. Lemaire has averred that the emphasis on Solomon's wisdom in connection with the ancient Near Eastern kings and rulers is an attempt to emulate their ideology and propaganda.[15] In these chapters Solomon is portrayed as an ideal king. We noticed in the dream in 1 Kgs 3:9-11 that Solomon asked for an understanding heart (לב שמע) in order to govern (לשפט) his people and the ability to discern between good and evil (להבין טוב לרע). It is said that Solomon's request is the rubric for ruling; this is an integral component to the

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[11] K. I. Parker, "Solomon as Philosopher King? The Nexus of Law and Wisdom in 1 Kings 1-11," JSOT 53 (1992): 75-91.
[12] Kenik, Design for Kingship. The Deuteronomist Narrative Technique in 1 Kings 3: 14-15, 201.
[13] A. Lemaire, "Wisdom in Solomonic Historiography," in Wisdom in Ancient Israel. Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton (ed. J. Day, Robert P. Gordon and H. G. M. Williamson; UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 107.
[14] B. Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3-11)," HUCA 38 (1967):115.
[15] Lemaire, "Wisdom in Solomonic Historiography," in Wisdom in Ancient Israel,113. On the correspondence between Solomon's reign and rulers of the ancient Near East see also C. L. Seow, "The Syro-Palestinian Context of Solomon's Dream," HTR 77(1984): 141-52; Porten,

legitimisation of his kingship.[16] This pattern follows the königsnovelle model of the ancient Near East —an ability to administer justice appears to be a prerequisite for all kings. Hence his request for this particular type of wisdom was necessary for him to function adequately as an ideal king. In the passage in 1 Kgs 3:12-13 YHWH gave Solomon much more. He was granted a wise and intelligent heart (לב חכם ונבון). And what follows in the subsequent chapters is an elaboration of YHWH's promise to Solomon.[17] God's giving of wisdom to Solomon implies knowledge and understanding for a wise king.

The Many Faces of Solomon's Wisdom

In referring to the nature of Solomon's wisdom two points are worth noting about wisdom's source and her superlative quality. Firstly, YHWH is the source of Solomon's wisdom. She is depicted as a special attribute given to Solomon by God (1 Kgs 3:9-12); it is divine wisdom (הכמת אלוהם). This is again reiterated in 3:28; 5:9-10 (= 4:29-30 Evv), 26 and 10:24. Secondly, God's given wisdom made Solomon superior over all other kings (MT 5:10=4:30 Evv): מחכמת כל בני־ קדם ומכל חכמת מצרים. And this is explicitly stated in the first dream theophany that there was none like him, nor would there be anyone like him (3:12); therefore King Solomon marks the beginning and end of this wisdom.

"The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3-11)," 93-128 and Kenik, Design for Kingship. The Deuteronomist Narrative Technique in 1 Kings 3: 14-15, 199.

[16] Seow, "The Syro-Palestinian Context of Solomon's Dream," 151-2.

[17] Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3-11)," 97.

Several aspects[18] of Solomon's wisdom emerge in the Solomon narrative. The judicial aspect of Solomon's wisdom is illustrated in Solomon's arbitration between the two harlots in the passage in 3:16-28. At the end of the narrative the whole of Israel responded by saying that Solomon's judgement (משפט) in this matter was an evidence of God's wisdom in him. Another aspect of Solomon's specialised wisdom is his political acumen demonstrated in his organisational and administrative skills of his kingdom (4:1-5:8 = 4:1-28 Evv). This aspect is again evidenced in his excellent diplomatic and commercial relationships with foreign dignitaries including Hiram (5:15-21 = 5:1-7 Evv) and the Queen of Sheba (9:10-14, 26-28 and 10:11-12, 27). Further, Solomon's technical wisdom is shown in his works of construction such as the Temple which occupies a prominent position in the narrative [5:22 (= 5:8 Evv) - 6:37], and the royal palace (7:1-12). In addition to this, the Queen of Sheba was very impressed by Solomon's wisdom displayed in his various building projects (10:4-6). In 5:11 it is clearly stated that Solomon's fame spread to the surrounding nations; this note is however lacking in the LXX.

Solomon's wisdom and intelligence is further demonstrated in his encyclopaedic and scientific knowledge of plants and animals in 5:13-14 (= 4:33-34 Evv), and his literary skills. The king is depicted as the composer of proverbs (משל) in 5:12 (4:32 Evv) and of poems and songs (שיר), and was also noted known for speaking riddles (חידות) in the passage in 10:1, 3. Although 5:13-14 (MT), which perhaps makes Solomon the author of Proverbs and Song of Songs, may be viewed as putting some restriction on

[18] See Lemaire who has discussed some of these aspects of wisdom in the Solomonic

the extent of Solomon's wisdom by confining his knowledge to literary and encyclopaedic knowledge of nature;[19] this could have actually given credence to an already developing Solomonic literary tradition. More about Solomon's literary activity in relation to the Solomonic attribution will be discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation dealing with the Solomonic Corpus.

Finally, although the wisdom motif seems to take preponderance in these chapters the Temple building motif which should be understood in the light of wisdom is crucial.[20] The significance of the Temple building is evident in the disproportionate space devoted to the Temple construction and its dedication in these chapters. The time spent in discussing its structure (6:23-30) and the dedication (8:6-11) suggests that this subject was also of paramount interest to the authors and /redactors.[21] This connection between wisdom and the Temple construction, which is not so obvious in 1 Kings, will become even more apparent in the Chronicler's work. In association with the Temple structure there is reference to the two massive pillars in front of the Temple called Jachin and Boaz in 1 Kings (7:15-22 MT/ =7:3-9 LXX). These structures are mentioned in both 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles (3:15-17)[22] just before the mention of the Bronze Sea. The pillars had capitals at their top and the bases were decked with a fine chain-like decoration like necklace in bronze.

Historiography; Lemaire, "Wisdom in Solomonic Historiography," 109-11.
[19] Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 130,149.
[20] Robert P. Gordon, "A House Divided: Wisdom in Old Testament Narrative Traditions," in Wisdom in Ancient Israel. Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton (ed. J. Day, Robert P. Gordon and H. G. M. Williamson, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 95–105. Gordon has compared the temple project in 1 Kings 3-11 with the construction of the tabernacle in Exodus 25-40.
[21] J. T. Walsh, Berit Olam Studies in Hebrew Narrative/ Poetry: 1 Kings (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 150-52. See Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 60, 153. Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3-11)," 100f.
[22] The Chronicler's account is not as detailed as 1 Kings. In the former no names are given.

II. 2 Chronicles

Introduction

The Chronicler like the Deuteronomist of the Book of Kings had made use of several sources to produce the Book of Chronicles. The principal sources used were the biblical books (Samuel-Kings). Although changes in his presentation may point to a slightly different Vorlage[23] from what we know, it is very much evident that he had reworked his sources as a result of his worldview in order to present his version of events.[24] There is also the possibility that other sources that he might have utilised to supplement his material[25] could have been extra-biblical, which might have existed either in written form or oral tradition. Credit however must be given to him for arranging materials at his disposal to produce such a fascinating and unique historiography of Solomon. The Chronicler's work is post-exilic and his purpose is to re-establish both the Davidic monarchy and the Temple cult.[26]

Chapters 1-9

The Chronicler has dedicated the first nine chapters of 2 Chronicles to Solomon, which parallel Solomon's reign in 1 Kgs 2:12- 11:43. The Chronicler's account when compared to 1 Kings has suffered both omissions and additions leading to a somewhat abbreviated but positive historiography

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[23] Steven L. McKenzie, The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History (HSM 33; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1985), 26-28, 119-158; McKenzie and others who have commented about the Chronicler's Vorlage pointed out that he has used a text of Samuel different from the textus receptus. See also Jacob M. Myers, I & II Chronicles (AB 12-13; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965).

[24] S. Japhet, The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought (Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testament und des Antiken Judentums 8; Frankfurt/ Paris/ Berna/ New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 7-8.

[25] Roddy L. Braun, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah," JBL 98 (1979): 351-59.

[26] McKenzie, The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomisitic History, 25-26.

of Solomon.[27] However, some may argue that the image of Solomon suffered on three counts since Solomon's wisdom, his state administration and the tranquillity of his days (1 Kgs 5:18) are all lacking in the Chronicler's account.[28] There is allusion to the latter in David's speech to Solomon in 1 Chr 22:7-10 (vide infra), however, the second part of this satan's passage in 1 Kgs 5:18 which mentions "satan" and the "evil occurrence" is left out in the Chronicler's comment on Solomon's reign of tranquillity in 2 Chron 2:1-10. Three categories of materials can be identified when the Chronicler's work is compared with 1 Kings:

Passages in 1 Kings cited in 2 Chronicles are either reworked or repeated verbatim: (1) 1 Kgs 3:4-15; 4:21, 26; (= MT 5:1, 6); 5: 2-11, 15-16 (= MT 5:16-25, 29-30), 6:1-27; 7:15-51; 8:1-50, 52, 54, 62-66; 10:1-29;; 11:41-43. (2) There are passages that have no parallels in Chronicles: 1 Kgs 2:13-46; 3:1-3, 16-16-28; 4:1-20, 22-25 (= MT 5: 2-5); 4:27-5:1; (5:7-15); 6: 28-37; 7:1-15; 8:52-53, 55-61; 11:1-40. (3) There are passages which are addition to 1 Kings: 2 Chr 1: 1b-5; 3:3-6, 8,11-13; 5:11-13; 6:13, 41-42; 7:1-3; 8: 2-3, 13-15. The Chronicler's main focus is the Temple and King Solomon plays a significant part in this, although some have argued that his greatness as portrayed in the Temple building project suffers diminution because his father appeared to get the credit for a lot of his son's achievement[29] and that Solomon was working under the shadow of his father, David. It must be said that in the Chronicler's depiction of Solomon two points are worth noting. Firstly, Solomon is presented as a king with a flawless character when

[27] S. Japhet, I & II Chronicles. A Commentary, (OTL; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/ John Knox Press, 1993), 522.
[28] Japheth, I & II Chronicles, 536.
[29] Japhet, The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles, 478-89.

compared to 1 Kings —he is an idealised king and a paragon of virtue. Secondly, Solomon is intricately connected with the Temple building even though his father got credits for some of his son's accomplishment.

In presenting an idealised Solomon the Chronicler has deliberately left out all the negative aspects of Solomon's life presented in 1 Kings. In this respect R. L. Braun has argued that the Chronicler enhances Solomon's image.[30] The negative points about Solomon's last years, such as his liaison with foreign women, the building of high places and political struggles in 1 Kings 11 are all left out by the Chronicler. Furthermore, Solomon's son, Rehoboam has a lot to answer for. Unlike 1 Kings which concludes Solomon's reign with the derogatory comments in chapter 11, the Chronicler ends his reign with laudatory remarks about the king's riches and his meeting with Sheba. Moreover, there are several motifs added by the Chronicler to enhance Solomon's reputation.[31] P. R. Ackroyd, in commenting on the role of the Chronicler as an exegete, intimates that the Chronicler presents the earlier texts in order to shed light on the present needs of the community and pointing to a hopeful future. Ackroyd has further commented that the Chronicler is a conciliator between different groups and interests.[32]

Scholars do recognise the Temple construction as the central motif in the Chroniclers account.[33] The most striking feature of the Chronicler's reworking of his sources is Solomon and the Temple where Solomon is portrayed as a

[30] Braun, "Solomon Apologetic in Chronicles," JBL 92 (1973): 503-16.
[31] Ibid.; Japhet, The ideology of the Book of Chronicles, 478-89.
[32] P. R. Ackroyd, "The Chronicler as Exegete," JSOT 2 (1977): 2-32.

divinely chosen Temple builder.[34] As far back as 1 Chr 22:7-10 it is clearly stated even before Solomon was born that he was the Temple builder chosen by God:

> (7) David said to Solomon, "My son, I had planned to build a house to the name of the Lord my God. (8) But the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'You have shed much blood and have waged great wars; you shall not build a house to my name, because you have shed so much blood in my sight on the earth. (9) See, a son shall be born to you; he shall be a man of peace. I will give him peace from all his enemies on every side; for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quiet to Israel in his days. (10) He shall build a house for my name. He shall be a son to me, and I will be a father to him, and I will establish his royal throne in Israel forever. . .'" (NRSV)

The use of the word בחר in the passages below emphasises this theme of a divinely chosen Temple builder:

> He (Yahweh) said to me, It is your son Solomon who shall build my house and my courts, for I have chosen him (כִּי־בָחַרְתִּי בוֹ) to be a son to me, and I will be a father to him. (1 Chr 28:6)

Again in 29:1 David mentions that Solomon has been chosen by God for this great work even though he was young and inexperienced:

> . . .'My son Solomon whom alone God has chosen (אֶחָד בָּחַר־בּוֹ אֱלֹהִים), is young and inexperienced, and the work is great; (NRSV)

There are other motifs connected with Solomon in 1 Kings. Although the main motif is Solomon's wisdom other motifs such as the building projects should understood in the context of Solomon's wisdom. The Chronicler only briefly hinted at other building projects and that was sufficient. It looks as though the structure of the Chronicler's account was designed in a way to enhance the

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[33] R. B Dillard, "The Literary Structure of the Chronicler's Solomon Narrative," JSOT 30 (1984): 85-93.

[34] Braun, "Solomon, the Chosen Temple Builder: The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28 and 29 for the Theology of Chronicles," JBL 95 (1976): 581-90.

Temple motif, and all other motifs find their true expression in the building of the Temple.[35]

Some of 1 Kings' emphasis on wisdom is lacking in the Chronicler's account. We find that the story of the two harlots in 1 Kgs 3:16-28, which illustrates Solomon's judicial acumen, is omitted by the Chronicler. The text that enumerates Solomon's literary skills and encyclopaedic knowledge of both plants and animals in 1 Kgs 4: 29-34 (MT= 5:9-14) is also missing in the Chronicler's version. Again the emphasis on Solomon's wisdom is in the closing remarks of Solomon in 1 Kgs 11: 41 (NRSV): "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, all that he did as well as his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the Acts of Solomon?" This is an indication that there is more to Solomon's wisdom than what is contained in the biblical tradition. In the Chronicler's record a similar comment is made but the phrase "and his wisdom" is absent. The Chronicler seems to shift our attention from the varied aspects of Solomon's wisdom in 1 Kings, which were emphasised by the Deuteronomist, to an important phenomenon—the Temple construction which for him is the greatest achievement of Solomon.[36]

The Temple motif is connected with wisdom in two ways. Firstly, in King Huram's letter to Solomon in Chronicles King Huram acknowledges in 2 Chr 2:12 that David's son, Solomon is wise (חכם) and endowed with insight (שכל) and understanding (בינה) who will build a house for the Lord, and a house for

[35] H. G. M. Williamson, 1 and 2 Chronicles (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), 192.
[36] E. Lewis Curtis, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Chronicles (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), 314-15.

his kingdom. It is interesting that the building of the house of Lord comes first. This passage is coming from 1 Kgs 5:21 (5:7 Evv). The Chronicler has taken the passage from 1 Kings and then made certain alterations. The Chronicler has made minor omissions and then elaborated the text.[37] The significant addition by the Chronicler is the Temple building in connection with wisdom. As the text stands the ultimate goal of wisdom here is building projects, of which the Temple building takes pre-eminence.[38] Secondly, in the context of 2 Chronicles 2 the word חכם is not only used of Solomon but of those who would participate in the Temple project.[39] It is used to describe David's skilled men and artists (vv. 7, 14); Solomon's skilled men (v.14), and Huramabi[40] who was sent by King Huram (v.13). In the light of chapter 2 it follows that only in the Chronicler's account do we find an intrinsic connection between the two motifs: wisdom and the Temple.[41]

The TSol

There are two observations that I will like to make at this juncture. Firstly, on a macro level the TSol follows a similar story line in its characterisations of the negative and positive traits of Solomon to that of the Book of Kings, unlike the Chronicler's account who focuses only on the positive. The account of king Solomon's reign in 1 Kings started off on a high note but unfortunately climaxed with Solomon's apostasy; a consequence of his liaison with foreign women. In a general way both positive and negative aspects of the king's character are brought to the fore in both 1 Kings and the TSol. Moreover, the

[37] Japhet, I & II Chronicles, 543- 44.
[38] Ibid., 544.
[39] Ibid., 545.
[40] see Japhet, I & II Chronicles, 544.

TSol's emphasis on the Temple, and its portrayal of Solomon as the Temple builder echo the Chronicler's account. Secondly, on a micro level there are several themes or motifs in the Hebrew text of 1 Kings that have echoes in the TSol, however, when individual motifs are taken into consideration the differences between 1 Kings and the TSol become apparent.

Very briefly, the TSol relates the story of Solomon, who with the aid of a ring that was given to him by God through the archangel Michael, was able to harness demons who assisted him in the building of the Temple. The story ends on a similar note as in 1 Kings: the account of Solomon's apostasy and idolatry caused by his passion for foreign women.

The Temple motif from the outset is presented as one of the central focuses of the TSol. The Solomon saga begins with the Temple building in chapter 1. In the Greek title Solomon is introduced thus: "the Son of David who reigned in Jerusalem, and subdued and controlled all the spirits . . ; through them he also accomplished all the magnificent works of the Temple." While the Greek titles of MSS PQI and H[42] mention the building of the Temple, only MSS P and Q inform us that this work was accomplished "through the spirits" by the use of the phrase δἰ ὡν. The Temple is intricately connected with Solomon's power over the demonic force. This becomes clearer as the TSol develops. The building of the Temple, which is sustained throughout the TSol, introduces the author's demonological interest. Thus, this motif provides the

[41] Japhet, The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its place in Biblical Thought, 484-88.
[42] These are printed separately in McCown's edition; see McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 99*.

background against which the author's demonological interests are developed and displayed.

The wisdom motif is reminiscent of 2 Chronicles and 1 Kings. In the latter wisdom is connected with several aspects: Solomon's literary skills; his judicial acumen, organisational and administrative skills, diplomatic and commercial relationships with foreign rulers, technical knowledge, and encyclopaedic and scientific knowledge of plants and animals. The main preoccupation with the author of the TSol, which incidentally is connected with the Temple motif, is Solomon's power over the demonic world. The notion of wisdom goes beyond the characterisations in 1 Kings. The author has unequivocally linked Solomon's wisdom with his power over the demonic world. So whenever Solomon's wisdom or understanding is mentioned in the TSol it is often connected with his power over the demons. In 3:5 we read: "Blessed are you, Lord God Almighty, who has granted to your servant Solomon wisdom, the attendant of your thrones, and who has placed in subjection all the power of the demons." In 4:11 the thwarting agent of Onoskelis is God's wisdom that dwells in Solomon.[43]

The link between wisdom and Solomon's ability to subjugate the demons is clear in King Adarkes' acknowledgement in his letter to Solomon in chapter 22 which reads: ". . .I have heard about the wisdom which has been granted to you and that, being a man from the Lord, there has been given to you understanding about all spirits of the air, the earth, and beneath the earth."

[43] TSol 3:5 and 4:11 will be discussed further in my treatment of the Wisdom of Solomon.

Later on in 24:3 Solomon's ability to make the demon Ephippas and the demon of the Red Sea to hold the pillar was a demonstration of the wisdom granted to him: "Thus, they have remained holding up the pillar in the air until this very day as a proof of the wisdom granted to me." The association between wisdom and Solomon's power over the demons is quite obvious in the TSol.

Furthermore, King Adarkes knew that Solomon's wisdom was an attribute "granted" (δίδωμι) to him by God. This is indicated in 24:3 where the same word "granted" is again used as an indication that Solomon's wisdom had a source. In 4:11 it was referred to by the demon as God's wisdom (σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ), and so is the passage in 3:5 where God is identified as the source of his wisdom. Therefore in all these passages a recurrent point is made that God is the source of Solomon's wisdom. This is reminiscent of the biblical passages in 1 Kings where wisdom is pictured as a divine gift to Solomon (cf. 3:28; 5:9-10, 26 and 10:24). However, the difference here is that Solomon's wisdom is primarily used for subjugating of demons. This goes beyond physically restraining the demons and setting them to work at the Temple. Solomon's ability to interrogate and obtain information (esoteric knowledge) from the demons is also a demonstration of the king's wisdom. This appears to be an important feature in the proposed structure of the TSol.

In 1 Kings, as I have argued, two main motifs Solomon's wisdom and the Temple take precedence. I also pointed out that the association between the two is not as intricately connected as in 2 Chronicles. In fact they are loosely

connected. In the TSol (19:2) the main purpose of the visit by foreign dignitaries was to come and observe the Temple that Solomon was building:

> (2) All kings were coming to me to observe the Temple of God that I was building, and they supplied me with gold and silver, and brought in bronze, iron, lead, and wood for the Temple furnishings. (3) And among them Sheba, Queen of the South, who was a witch (γόης), came with much understanding and bowed before me.[44]

In chapter 20 (v. 1) the central focus is again the Temple:

> (1) Now when Sheba, the Queen of the South, saw the Temple I was building she thought it was marvellous and contributed ten thousand copper shekels. . . (3) She saw the silver, bronze and gold vessels and the bases of the pillars entwined with bronze wrought in the pattern of a chain. Finally, she saw the Bronze Sea,

Incidentally, the depictions of the Queen Sheba in the above passages echo the biblical account although several significant differences emerge. Sheba is described as a witch or sorceress who comes from the South. There is no hint of any overt negative characterisations in either in 1 Kings or the Chronicler's account of this woman neither does the biblical tradition suggest that she came from the South. While the biblical tradition identifies her as the "Queen of Sheba" the TSol seems to identify her as "Sheba, the Queen of the South." The name "Sheba" appears to be a proper noun hence her name. There is a divergence from the biblical tradition in that "Sheba" ceases to be the place where she comes from and now becomes her name. I shall be saying more about this in later sections.

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[44] The Greek for verse 3 reads:
ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ Σάβα βασίλισσα Νότου γόης ὑπάρχουσα πολλῇ τῇ φρονήσει ἦλθε καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐνώπιόν μου. Duling's translation of φρονήσει by "with much arrogance" is incorrect. I have translated the word φρονήσει as "understanding." As C. R. A. Morray Jones rightly comments there is no single instance in which the word is translated as "pride." See C. R. A. Morray-Jones, A Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism. A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry (JSJ Sup 59; Leiden/ Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002), 265, note 144.

Secondly, the close link between Sheba and the Temple building is lacking in the biblical text. According the TSol she was amongst those who came to observe the Temple and like a telescopic lens the author singles her out in order to draw our attention to her response regarding the Temple structure and all that she saw in the inner sanctum. It is rather unusual to find a heathen queen given access to the most sacred part of God's Temple. The details of the structures of the Temple are elucidated in 1 Kgs 7: 15-51. Curiously, the TSol does not grant us this privilege; not only are some of the structures in the biblical text absent but those that are mentioned appear only briefly with very little detail.

One of the structures Sheba saw in the Temple was the "bases of the pillars entwined with bronze wrought in the pattern of a chain." This may be reminiscent of the biblical description of the two bronze pillars in 1 Kgs 7:15-22 festooned by interwoven chains in front of Solomon Temple. The biblical text, especially 1 Kings, gives certain details of the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, lacking in the Chronicler's account. The chain-like decoration which the TSol appears to be alluding to here is positioned at the bases of the pillars rather than the top according to the biblical text. Although the details in the TSol are scanty the text nonetheless echoes 1 Kgs 7:15-22. It is only in the latter that these fine architectural additions are described as brazen. What immediately follows the report in 1 Kings without any interruption is the reference to the Sea. This is also the case in the TSol. The author moves on to the Bronze Sea just after referring to the bases of the two pillars. The pillar motif might be significant for the TSol since it takes another form in chapters

23 and 24 where two demons were said to be holding the aerial pillar. This motif is connected with the Red Sea and the Red Sea demon, Abezebithou, a demon associated with the incident in Egypt prior to the Exodus of the Israelites, and the Suph Sea (LXX: Red Sea) massacre of the Egyptians. In 25:7 the demon stated he was held down by the same pillar.[45] This is obviously lacking in the biblical tradition.

Thirdly, another difference between the TSol and 1 Kings is in the types of gifts and the purpose for which they were given to Solomon. In the biblical tradition Sheba gave 120 talents of gold, large quantities of spices, and precious stones whereas in the TSol the queen donated only ten thousand copper shekels. The purpose of Sheba's gift in the TSol was towards the main motif—the Temple. It is abundantly clear that the interest of the author here is the Temple and everything else is connected with it. Fourthly, nothing is said that Solomon reciprocated Sheba's generosity in the TSol. MS P's reading about testing of Solomon's wisdom by Sheba clearly echoes the biblical text. The motif of testing Solomon we find in 10:1 where it is stated that the queen tested him with hard questions. Perhaps the comment that Solomon instructed Sheba may also be reminiscent of this biblical passage ". . . and when she came to Solomon, she told him all that was on her mind. And Solomon answered all her questions; there was nothing hidden from the king which he could not explain to her." (10:2-3; RSV). One final comment on Sheba, in the TSol we read that she bowed down before Solomon. This

[45] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 57-58. Jackson intimates that the pillar motif could be an allusion to the pillar of cloud in Exod 14:19; 16:10.

gesture of respect is absent in the biblical text. As I have already intimated I will come back to Sheba when discussing Josephus and the NT.

On the international arena Solomon was quite renowned both in the biblical story and the TSol. On the one hand, the Hebrew text depicts him as a recipient of honour and gifts. With regards to the latter we are informed that the king accumulated wealth: gold, silver, horses, chariots, horses, weapons, and more (1 Kings 10). Perhaps this is where Solomon started going wrong from the perspective of the deuteronomic prohibitions which caution the king against the accumulation of gold, silver, horses and many wives (cf. Deut 17: 14-20). Solomon's fame in the Hebrew text is primarily due to his wisdom. On the other hand, the TSol also informs us of Solomon's international reputation. But Solomon's reputation, unlike, the biblical text, is primarily linked with the Temple (19:1) and his power over the demons as I have argued. Additionally, unlike the biblical text, all the gifts he received were somehow connected with the Temple building project (19:1; 21:1).

The story of the arbitration of the harlots in 1 Kgs 3:16-28, missing in the Chronicler's account and indicative of Solomon's judicial prowess, does not feature in the TSol, instead what we find is a story concerning an altercation between a man who works in the Temple, and his son. This story does not appear in either 1 Kings or 2 Chronicles. The motive for its inclusion in the TSol and its relation to either chapter 19 or 21 is bewildering. The author seemed to have used this story as a platform to introduce another episode of esoteric revelation to Solomon by the demon Ornias. The story is connected

with the Temple motif since one of the main protagonists in the story (the old man who was involved in the altercation with his son) was one of the artisans working in the Temple. Further, the scenario could be linked with Solomon's wisdom if the altercation between the man and his son was intended to demonstrate Solomon's judicial acumen. The revelation of esoteric knowledge by a demon nonetheless lurks in the background of this narrative.

The final chapter of Solomon in the TSol begins with a very brief comment about Solomon's relationship with foreign women: "I now took countless wives from every land and kingdom" (26:1). The TSol echoes the biblical text (1 Kings) but briefly when compared to the eight verses in the biblical text dealing with Solomon and foreign women. The TSol focuses our attention on the Shummanite woman. Other motifs connected with this are the sacrificing of the blood of locusts in the name of Raphan and Moloch; the emphasis on the effect of Solomon's passion; the departure of the spirit of God from the king; the darkened spirit of Solomon and how the king became a laughing stock to demons. These motifs and Solomon's literary activity as a consequence of his fall are all absent in the biblical texts. Solomon's reign may have climaxed in his demise but it must nevertheless be said that Solomon bequeathed an important document for the benefit of those who will take heed. Some of these motifs will be reiterated in my discussion of Josephus. Incidentally, the reference to the divided kingdom in 1 Kgs 11:9-13 and chapter 12 is mentioned in two places in the TSol (15:8-9; and 5:5). In both instances demons are the ones who prophesied concerning the division of Solomon's kingdom not God as the biblical text suggests.

In sum, while 1 Kings mentions both the positive and negative aspects of Solomon the main thrust of the Chronicler's work is the positive traits. This is connected with the Temple motif which in turn is associated with wisdom. Solomon is the wise man who is also the divinely appointed Temple builder. Similarly, the Temple motif parallels one of the main concerns of the TSol. In the TSol wisdom is connected with Solomon's power over demons—a motif which is brought to play with the Temple motif.

Preliminary Conclusions

I can say that the author of the TSol knew the story about Solomon as presented in the biblical text of both 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles; hence the parallels in stories, themes and motifs. The rise and fall of Solomon, the Temple building motif, the king's wisdom, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, Solomon's liaison with foreign women, the king's apostasy and the mention of the divided kingdom are all echoes of the biblical text. As far as the Chronicler is concerned the Temple building motif is intrinsically connected with the wisdom motif. Both Temple and wisdom motifs are biblical themes utilised by the TSol.

Moreover, the differences in the way the aforementioned motifs are set out and developed and their interrelationship with one another in the TSol is indicative of the author's primary motivation—a clear depiction of Solomon's wisdom in a realm not mentioned in the biblical tradition, viz., the demonic realm. The demonological elements seem to be of paramount of importance

in the author's thinking. The author adopts a radical position consistent with his worldview by making the prophecy concerning the division of Solomon's kingdom come from demons. The author has not only depended on the biblical text but has also utilised other sources which were at his disposal. This is evident in stories in the TSol not found in the biblical text. In my discussion of the LXX I shall attempt to show how the wisdom motif is accentuated.

Chapter 2

The Septuagint (LXX) and the TSol

Introduction

Since there is no significant difference between the LXX and the MT on the Chronicler's historiography of Solomon which may have any bearing on my discussion of the TSol I shall therefore focus only on the differences between the LXX and the MT on 1 Kings 1-11. In this respect I shall confine myself only to the differences that may have relevance for my discussion of the TSol. These differences may be attributed either to the work of the translators or to a reflection of different Hebrew Vorlagen. The perception of scholarship on the relationship between the LXX and the MT however seems to oscillate between the existence of pre-masoretic/ proto-masoretic[1] Vorlagen and the midrashic exegesis within the LXX. The latter is useful both for text critical analysis and insight into the exegetical work by its translators. It is instructive, however, that the LXX should be perceived primarily as an exegetical work. The LXX is both a translation and an interpretation of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts.[2]

1 Kings 1-11

When the LXX (3 Kgdms) is compared with the MT (1 Kings) on the recounting of the story of Solomon several significant points emerge. I must point out that the

[1] Frank M. Cross Jr, " The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," HTR 57 (1964): 281-99. Cross uses the term to denote the Urtext behind the Christian recension of the LXX. E. Tov, The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 1-79; 121-154.

[2] See introduction in Johann Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX (VTSup 69; Leiden/Köln: Brill, 1997), 1-43, especially, 12, 35-36. See Tov, The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, 124-28.

LXX offers widely differing readings in various textual witnesses; the main ones are the Vaticanus (B) and the Lucianic (L) recensions. I shall not attempt to delve into any analysis of the different recensions. I shall nonetheless allude to any if my discussion demands so. More importantly, since there are many differences in the textual traditions, I shall confine myself only to those that may have bearing on the main theme of my work: traditions connected to the biblical character of Solomon vis à vis the TSol. For the sake of clarity and illustrative purposes I shall occasionally have the Hebrew and Greek texts side by side where I have also attempted to do my own English translations.

Miscellanies

When the LXX is compared with the MT one notices that chapter 2 has materials which are absent in the MT. These additions have been referred to by some as the Miscellanies. On the one hand, some scholars have alleged that the Miscellanies reflect a Vorlage different from our textus receptus. On the other hand, some have suggested that this phenomenon is evidence of an inner biblical exegesis.[3] I am not convinced that one can explain the differences between the MT and the LXX exclusively on the basis of one of these views. The Miscellanies with which I shall concern myself can be divided into two groups. When the Miscellanies are studied against the main LXX text three features

[3] Tov, "The Septuagint Additions (Miscellanies') in 1 Kings 2 (3 Reigns)," in The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint (VTSup 72; Leiden/Boston/Köln:Brill, 1999), 549. D. W. Gooding, Relics of Ancient Exegesis: A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2 (SOTSMS 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 6-29; 111-15. Gooding argues for a midrashic interpretation in the main LXX text and Miscellanies. Montgomery, "The Supplement at the End of 3 Kingdoms 2 [1 Reg. 2]," ZAW 50 (1932): 124-29. It was Montgomery who first used the term "Miscellany" for the additions to " 3 Kgdms 2.

emerge about their character: (1) There are verses that are almost a verbatim repetition of materials found elsewhere in LXX 1-11. However, there are instances when these additions differ from the parallel verses. (2) There are translations of parallel verses found elsewhere in the MT but absent in the LXX in their corresponding locations. (3) There are verses that have no counterparts anywhere in either the MT or the LXX.[4] What the Miscellanies below show is an emphasis on Solomon's wisdom.

The First Miscellany (1) consists of 2:35a-o, this could be further divided into two smaller sections: a-k and l-o. The second Miscellany (2) is 2:46 a-l.[5] Both Miscellanies are connected directly or indirectly with Solomon's wisdom.[6] The first half of Miscellany 1 (35a-k) parallels 5:9-10 (MT= 5:9-10) of the main Greek text and states that Solomon was wiser than the ancients. It lacks 5:11-14 of the MT:

> 35[a]καὶ ἔδωκεν κυρίους φρόνησιν τῷ Σαλωμών καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. 35[b] καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ φρόνησις Σαλωμών σφόδρα ὑπὲρ φρόνησιν πάντων υἱῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου·
>
> (35a) And the Lord gave understanding to Solomon and very much wisdom and largeness of heart as the sand by the seashore. (35b) And the wisdom of Solomon abounded exceedingly beyond the wisdom of all the sons of the ancients, and above all the wise men of Egypt. (bd-b)

[4] Tov, The Greek and the Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays in the Septuagint, 562.
[5] The lettering of the verses of the Miscellanies is derived from Rahlf's text: Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX Interpretes (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).
[6] Gooding, Relics of Ancient Exegesis, 6-17; 106-117; "The Shimei Duplicate and his Satellite Miscellanies of 3 Reigns II," JJS 13 (1968): 76-92. Montgomery, "The Supplement at the End of 3 Kingdoms 2 [1 Reg. 2]," ZAW 50 (1932): 124-29; Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 7-8.

The theme in this section is Solomon's wisdom. This is linked with his building activities further on in 35c and the subsequent verses.

Miscellany 2 (46a-l) likewise begins by describing Solomon as being prudent and wise and then moves on to elaborate on the extent of the king's dominion:

> 46[a] καὶ ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών φρόνιμος σφόδρα καί σοφός, καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς πλῆθος, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ χαίροντες· 46[β] καί Σαλωμών ἦν ἄρχων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις· καί ἦσαν προσφέροντες δῶρα, καὶ ἐδούλευον τῷ Σαλωμών πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. 46[λ] καὶ Σαλωμὼν υἱὸς Δαυίδ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ισραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.
>
> (46[a]) And King Solomon was very prudent and wise, and Judah and Israel were very many as the sand which by the sea for multitude (46[b]) and Solomon was a ruler in all the kingdoms, and they brought gifts and served Solomon all the days of his life. (46[l]) and Solomon the son of David reigned over Israel and Judah in Jerusalem. (bd-b)

E. Tov has lately argued that although both Miscellanies begin with a statement about Solomon's wisdom, dominion, and building activities, Miscellany 2, in particular, is neither midrashic nor does it focus on Solomon's wisdom. In fact he avers that both Miscellanies are contextually inappropriate[7] and that they represent a collection of variants and other miscellaneous materials.[8] Whether the Miscellanies are work of inner exegesis in the LXX or a reflection of a different Hebrew Vorlage is irrelevant for my discussion at this point. What is pertinent is whether they contribute in any way to the main text of the LXX. I believe that semantically and thematically they do add to the depiction of Solomon as a wise king.

[7] Tov, The Greek and the Hebrew Bible, 563-67.

Miscellany 2 ends with the note that Solomon, the son of David, reigned over Israel and Judah in Jerusalem. The nearest equivalent to this note in the MT is found in 4:1 where it is said that "King Solomon was king over all Israel." The main Greek text has a similar note but the "all" in the MT is absent. The editor of the Miscellany may have added the formula Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα in v. 46l to compensate for this lack or this may well be a reflection of a different Vorlage.

The Miscellanies appear to be semantically loaded. Torijano has argued that the vocabulary in these Miscellanies accentuates Solomon's wisdom.[9] Firstly, this is shown in the use of certain terms. The word pairs that occur in both Miscellanies to describe Solomon's wisdom are worth noting. In Miscellany 1 we have the pair φρόνησις/ σοφία and in Miscellany 2 φρόνιμος/ σοφός. The word σοφία and its cognates: φρόνησις and φρόνιμος have nuances that may embrace philosophical themes; for example, φρόνησις is perceived as a gift from God that enables the philosopher or statesman to be a lawgiver. There is an implicit connection between philosophy and monarchy in the way the word is used in Hellenistic milieu.[10] In Miscellany 2 wisdom and kingship are clearly and intricately connected. Secondly, in Miscellany 2 two different words are utilised to describe Solomon as a king: βασιλεύς and ἄρχων. The former usage in the Hellenistic world can be linked with knowledge of ideas and political creativity; judicial terms, and philosophy.[11] In this respect it must be said that this theme of

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[8] Ibid.
[9] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 26-40.
[10] G. Bertram, "φρόνησις", TDNT, 9:221-235; G. Fohrer, "σοφία . . . σοφίζω," TDNT 7:465-96.
[11] H. Kleinknecht, "βασιλεύς," TDNT 1:564-5; "βασιλεύς," LSJ 1:309-10.

a judicious king is reiterated in 3 Kgdms 3:28 where the words βασιλεως, φρόνησις and δικαίωμα all appear in the same context. In the same chapter in 3:6 the word δικαιοσύνη is used for the Hebrew צדיק and in verse 9 the Greek term appears again but this time with no Hebrew equivalent. In other words, the LXX has used it although it does not appear in the MT. Could this be an attempt to emphasise Solomon's judicial role? The Greek δικιαοσύνη is regarded as one of the cardinal virtues for a spiritual harmony or balance in the Greek conception; and it is sometimes considered as a δύναμις.[12] In Philo δικαιοσύνη is linked with σοφία and φρόνησις and is made a divine attribute.[13] The term ἄρχων has a rare religious usage and may often used to describe pagan rulers. By using ἄρχων here the writer may attempt to put Solomon on a par with Hellenistic rulers. As Torijano rightly points out the use of these terms in a context that stresses wisdom may be an attempt to present Solomon not only as a wise man but also a wise ruler. In other words, Solomon is depicted as a "paradigm of the Hellenistic ruler" who is the embodiment of both justice and wisdom. [14]

There are a number of differences between the LXX and the MT in chapter 5. Firstly, in 1 Kgs 5:9 (Evv = 4:29) when the MT is compared with the LXX the Hebrew words חכְמָה and תבוּנָה appear in the reverse order in the LXX.

וַיִּתֵּן אֱלֹהִים חָכְמָה לִשְׁלֹמֹה
וּתְבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד וְרֹחַב לֵב כַּחוֹל אֲשֶׁר
עַל-שְׂפַת הַיָּם׃

[12] G. Schrenk," δικαιοσύνη" TDNT 2:174-224.
[13] *Deus Imm.* 79
[14] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 26-40.

God gave wisdom to Solomon very great understanding and broadness of mind (lit. breadth of heart) as the sand on the seashore. (bd-b)

The two phrases, "very great understanding" and "broadness of mind," explicate the meaning of Solomon's God given wisdom as expressed in his encyclopaedic knowledge.[15] This is also linked with the statement in 3:12 where Solomon is described as one who is wise and had a discerning mind.[16]

καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σαλωμών καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν (3 Kgdms 5:9)

And the Lord gave understanding to Solomon, and very much wisdom and enlargement of heart, as the sand on the seashore.

In the MT it is Solomon's תבונה (understanding) not his חכמה which was great. It is Solomon's wisdom, his σοφία, which is emphasised. Solomon has "very much wisdom." Hence Solomon's σοφία is accentuated. The Hebrew word חכמה is translated most times as σοφία but in two instances in the LXX the latter is a translation of the Hebrew word תבונה (cf. 3 Kgdms 3:1 and Prov 18:2) although תבונה is often translated by the Greek word φρόνησις. The codex Alexandrinus maintains the same order of words as in the MT:

σοφίαν τῷ Σαλωμών καὶ φρόνησιν.

The difference in the number of songs composed by Solomon in the MT and the LXX (1 Kgs 5:12) should also be noted. While the MT attests to 1005 songs the LXX states that Solomon composed five thousand songs. The LXX has Solomon

[15] De Vries, 1 Kings, 74.
[16] Jones, 1 and 2 Kings, 148.

composing more songs than stated in the MT. Is this a deliberate tampering with the text? The LXX number of five thousand (πεντακισχίλιαι) could be a result of an accidental or a deliberate removal of the vaw in the Hebrew וָאֶלֶף resulting in 5,000 songs instead 1005 songs. More importantly, the term that is used for songs ᾠδαί is closely related to the word ἐπῳδαί used for charms and incantations which Solomon was known to have composed as attested by Josephus in the first century BCE. Could the reader have understood this term to mean "incantations?" Perhaps the literary tradition regarding Solomon was developing or had developed beyond the scope of proverbial wisdom and sayings to something more practical as to what we will find in Josephus.[17] Furthermore, the Greek word παραβολή for the Hebrew מָשָׁל although is used to describe literary activity or aspects such as poems, psalms, proverbial sayings the Greek may carry astronomical nuances.[18] Torijano has also pointed out that Solomon's knowledge of the four categories of animals viz., beasts, (κτήνη), birds (πετεινὰ), reptiles (ἑρπετά) and fish (ἰχθύες) may be interpreted from a Hermetic perspective to mean the four elements (wind, earth, fire and water).[19] I shall be saying more on this in my treatment of the Wisdom of Solomon, and how the LXX could have been interpreted by the author of Wisdom of Solomon to imply science not in the strict sense of our modern day understanding of science but one that might include astrology, demonology magic and medicine.

[17] See McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," 1-2.
[18] LSJ 2:1305
[19] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 99-100.

In 1 Kgs 5:15 (MT) King Hiram sent his servants upon hearing that they have anointed Solomon king while the LXX reads:

> And Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants to anoint Solomon in the place of David his father because Hiram had always loved Solomon. (bd-b)

The difference between the LXX and the MT is obvious. The former informs us that it was King Hiram who sent his servants to anoint Solomon, while in the later, the king was already anointed when King Hiram sent his servants. The LXX reading however may be an original reading. Does this mean that Solomon was a vassal king? This does not seem to be the case since 9:11 contradicts this notion. Perhaps the LXX translators thought it to be a great honour for a foreign monarch to anoint Solomon.[20] The LXX may here be suggesting that King Solomon commanded so much respect amongst the foreign kings that Hiram was honoured in anointing the king, and in doing so he was acknowledging Solomon's kingship. Jeffrey K. Kuan has averred that this act was not merely to recognise Solomon as a legitimate king but also to confer upon Solomon a status of kingship on an international arena.[21]

In chapter 11 of 1 Kings both the MT and LXX focus on Solomon's love for foreign women and how he was led into idolatry to the extent of sacrificing to their gods. The passage below informs us of Solomon's apostasy:

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[20] De Vries, 1 Kings, 78.

[21] Jeffrey K. Kuan "Third Kingdoms 5:1 and Israelite-Tyrian Relations During the Reign of Solomon," JSOT 46 (1990): 31-46. Kuan argues that the MT reading that contradicts the LXX is a scribal attempt to smooth the difficulty that a foreign king should anoint Israel's king.

(4) It came to pass that when Solomon was old his wives turned away his heart to follow other gods and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God as was the heart of David his father. (5) Solomon went after Ashtoreth[22] the god of the Sidonians and after Milcom,[23] the detested thing of the Ammonities. (6) And Solomon did evil in the eyes of the Lord and he was not totally after the Lord as his father David. (7) Then Solomon built a high place for Chemosh the detested thing of the Moab on the mountain in front of Jerusalem,[24] also one to Molech[25] the detested thing of the Ammonites. (8) And he built the same for all his foreign wives who were burning incense and sacrificing to their gods. (bd-b)

The LXX has a slightly different order of events:

(4) And the foreign women turned his heart after their gods. (5) Then Solomon built a high place to Chamos the idol of Moab, and to their king idol of the children of Ammon, (6) and to Astarte the abomination of the Sidonians. (7) And thus he acted towards all his foreign wives who burnt incense and sacrificed to their idols. (8) And Solomon did that which was evil before the Lord, he went not after the Lord, as David his father.

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[22] See N. Wyatt, "Astarte" DDD, 109-14 for the different interpretations for this deity. Cf. 1 Sam 7:3 (?); 1 Kgs 11:33; 2 Kgs 23:13; Judg 3:7, Jer 7:18; 44: 17-19, 25.

[23] The Ammonite deity is also mentioned in 1 Kgs 5:33, 2 Kgs 23:13, and have appeared in some Greek recensions of 2 Sam 12:30; 1 Chron 20:2; Amos 1:15; Jer 49 (=30):1, 3; Zeph 15:1; 1 Kgs 11: 7 as Μελχου; Μελχολ; Μολχομ; Μολχολ. There may be confusion between Μand Λin the Greek. Furthermore, the Greek translators of the LXX may have had problem reading the Hebrew מלכם. In the biblical passages "Molech" and "Milcom" are separately worshipped and have different cult places in Jerusalem. The Ammonite national god occupies a more pre-eminent place in the biblical texts. Moreover, there is no proof that Milcom is another form of god Molech/Malik. See E. Puech, "Milcom" DDD, 575-6; and George C. Heider, "Molech," DDD, 581-85.

[24] "On the east of Jerusalem" cf. 2 Kgs 23:13 (cf. 2 Sam 15:32). This is missing in the LXX.

[25] The Hebrew מלך appears eight times in the OT (Lev [x5]: 18:21; 20:2-5; 1 Kgs 11: 7 and 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 32:35). The occurrence of "Molech" in 11:7 (MT=LXX 11:5) is accepted by most scholars as a possible corruption of the original "Milcom" (See 1 Kgs 11:5 and 33). I. Provan wonders why both forms are found in the text of Kings in two separate occasions. He thinks that one cannot assume that the same God is meant because the same people worship him. For further comments on his discussion, see Provan, 1 and 2 Kings (NIBCOT; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), 93. Molech and Milcom clearly appeared to be two different distinct deities. See John Day, Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1989), 82-85. The LXX renders מלך both as a common and a proper noun. It is translated as the common nouns ἀρχων and βασιλεύς in 3 Kgdms 11:7, and as a proper noun in 4 Kgdms 23:10 and Jer 39:35. The LXX has Moloch in Amos 5:26 for the MT מלככם. See Heider, "Molech," DDD 581-85; The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment (JSOT Sup 43; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1985), 278-79.

A number of minor differences between the MT and the LXX emerge mainly in relation to the sequence of events in 1 Kings 11:1-13.[26] Unlike the opening statement of the MT which states that Solomon "loved many foreign women," the opening remarks of the LXX simply state that the king was a lover of women. It is only later in the subsequent verses of the LXX that the comment about Solomon's foreign liaison appears yet the word "many" in the MT does not appear in the LXX. After stating this fact the MT goes on to give the list of foreign women after which a censuring statement about Yahweh's prohibition regarding foreign marriages follows. Although both the MT and the LXX seem to suggest that Solomon's heart was turned away by his women when he was in his old age the sequence of events varies. In the LXX Solomon grew old and his heart was not perfect then the foreign women turned away his heart to their gods. Hence it was an imperfect heart towards God that led to his susceptibility to sin against Yahweh. In the MT Solomon's heart was turned away by his foreign wives and then his heart was described as imperfect towards God and he consequently went after other gods. Further, the list of the nationalities of the foreign women is different in both the LXX and MT; the LXX has Syrians and Amorites but lacks the MT's Sidonians.

The TSol

In the presentation of Solomon as a wise king/ ruler the TSol when compared to the LXX does not use the term ἄρχων; this term is exclusively descriptive of demons of a particular calibre. The term which is often use to describe Solomon as a king is βασιλεύς or βασιλεία. The emphasis placed on Solomon's judicial

[26] See, Gray, I & II Kings, 252; Burney, Notes on the Hebrew Text, 154.

role in the combination of the terms βασιλεως, φρόνησις and δικαιοσύνη/ δικαίωμα is lacking in the TSol. However, the TSol may give us a glimpse of another aspect of Solomon's judicial role in his use of the word ἐδικησης in the old man's appeal to Solomon for revenge (TSol 20). The use of σοφός and its cognates in order to accentuate Solomon's wisdom in the LXX may have parallels in the TSol. The latter uses at least three different terms to describe Solomon's wisdom: φρόνησις (1:12 MS D), σοφία (5:13 MS P, H, L; 22:1,3; 24:3) and σύνεσις (22:1). The latter term although not used in 1 Kings is frequently employed in 2 Chronicles with σοφίαν to describe Solomon's wisdom. His wisdom in the TSol goes beyond the LXX's presentation since it encompasses both Solomon's knowledge of the working of the demons and his authority over them.

The LXX identifies Solomon's sin as following the gods of his foreign wives and he consequently built high places in honour of Chamos, the idol of the Moabites and "to their king," the idol of the Ammonites, and Astarte. The TSol has Raphan and Moloch (TSol 26:2-5). Both deities are nowhere connected with Solomon in the biblical tradition although mentioned elsewhere in the LXX. Moloch is mentioned in 4 Kgdms 23:10[27] and Jer 39:35 (=MT 32:35) while Raphan appears together with Moloch only in Amos 5:26 and Acts 7:43.[28] The OT

[27] Cf. Jer 32:35 (MT). The Lucianic version has Μελχομ.

[28] καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μόλοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ραιφάν τοὺς τύπους αὐτων οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοις καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος. You have lifted up the shrine of Moloch and the star of your god Rephan, the idols you made to worship therefore I will send you into exile beyond Babylon.

passage describes a procession in which the people are carrying the effigies of two deities:

ונשׂאתם את סכות מלככם
כיון צלמיכים כוכב אלהיכם
אשר עשׂיתם לכם:

> You shall take up Sakkuth, your king, and Kaiwan your star God, your images which you made yourselves. (RSV)
>
> καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνην[29] τοῦ Μολοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ραιφαν[30] τοὺς τύπους αὐτων οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς
>
> You took up the shrine/ (tabernacle) of your king, and the star of your god, Raiphan, their images which you made yourselves. (bd-b)

This passage has an air of uncertainty about it partly because of the presence of the hapax legomenon in the Hebrew text: סכות and כיון; and partly because of its sentence structure. When the LXX is compared with its Hebrew counterpart the second part of the passage contains the same lexical items as the MT but of a different order.[31] So what we have is "the star of your God, Raiphan, their images which you made yourselves." The LXX has Μόλοχ / Μολόχ for the Hebrew מַלְכְּכֶם. The NT passage in Acts 7:43 where both deities occur is quoted almost verbatim from the LXX except that the Acts passage replaces "Damascus" with "Babylon." The NT context deals with Stephen's condemnation of the idolatrous

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[29] The LXX must have read סכוּת(booth or hut/tent) סְכוּת for סֻכַּת and מֹלֶךְ (Moloch) for מלככם. Duling is in error here by stating that Moloch is LXX translation of Sakkuth. See "Testament of Solomon," OTP 1:986.

[30] The LXX could have used an already corrupted Hebrew text having an initial 'r' (ר) instead of 'k' (כ) which now stands in the MT text resulting in Raiphan (and variants). See M. Stol, 'Kaiwan' in DDD, 478, and Heider, The Cult of Molek, 306-10.

[31] See Charles D. Isbell, "Another Look at Amos 5:26," JBL 97(1978): 97-99. Isbell argues that the LXX Vorlage must have been "Milkom," the Ammonite deity. See also S. Gevirtz, "A New Look at an Old Crux: Amos 5:26," JBL 87 (1968): 267-76. He has suggested another interpretation for the phrase, "The shrine of your (god) MLK."

practice of the Israelites. Both the TSol and the NT passage appear to be drawing from the LXX passage of Amos 5:26 independently.[32] It appears that only the TSol refers to both deities directly in connection with Solomon.

The association between Solomon and the worship of Ashtoreth (Astarte) in 1 Kings does not feature in the TSol what we rather have is the mention of "Asteraoth," one of the thwarting angels of one of the seven spirits (the stoicheia) in chapter 8. If this is ever a variation of Ashtoreth (LXX= Astarte) then TSol represents another marked departure from the biblical text because in the TSol a goddess has now become a thwarting agent for evil spirits.

Preliminary Conclusions

Firstly, there are obviously differences between the MT and the LXX in recounting the story of Solomon based on 1 Kings 1-10. In several instances when comparing the LXX with the MT, there are evidences of pleonastic elaborations, harmonisations, and presence of materials found in the LXX not in the MT and vice versa. There are also different order of verses and Miscellanies. The LXX may reflect exegetical and homiletic activities even if there was a Vorlage different from our Hebrew textus receptus.

Secondly, the LXX appears to have an exaggerated depiction of Solomon's wisdom when compared with the MT in utilising the term σόφια /σοφός. In this

[32] Qumran writings also utilised this OT text: CD 7.14-16; here connection is made with Amod 9:11.

regard, one could say that the references to Solomon's wisdom occur more frequently in the LXX than the MT: σοφός: 2:9, 46f; σοφίαν: 2:6, 35; 4:29; 5:12; σοφίας: 4:34 (X2); σοφήν: 3:12; φρόνησις 2:35ff(3:1); 3:28; φρόνησιν: 3:1; 4:29, 39; 10:4, 8; 11:41; φρονήσεως: 10:6, 24; φρονήσει: 10:23. The use of the words φρόνησις, βασιλεύς in conjunction with δικαίωμα is not insignificant. There is also an increase in number of songs that he composed from 1,005 to 5,000. Furthermore, we are informed that a foreign king anointed Solomon; such gesture has its implication for kingship. The LXX has portrayed Solomon as a wise king par excellence within the Hellenistic milieu with all its judicial implications. He is depicted as a paradigmatic king.[33]

The TSol certainly echoes motifs in the LXX since the author knew the biblical story about Solomon. We should therefore not be surprised to find the general idea about the rise and fall of Solomon a common theme in both the LXX and the TSol. However, when it comes to the specifics the TSol has significantly departed from the biblical texts in a number of ways. There is no indication of literary borrowings by the author of the TSol despite shared motifs in both documents. Besides its demonological bias, the TSol has incorporated new materials to his version of the rise and fall of Solomon.

The apostasy of Solomon has been transformed. The focus in the TSol is the Shummanite woman who does not appear in the LXX. Some of the motifs

[33] Vide supra note 13.

connected with this woman such as Solomon's passion, the sacrificing of locusts, the link between the Jebusites and the occurrence of the two deities, Raphan and Moloch in the same context, the departure of the spirit of God, Solomon becoming a laughing stock to the demons all appear to be unique to the TSol. It seems to me that the author(s) may have drawn from biblical themes, motifs, and ideas as found in the LXX.

Chapter 3

The Solomonic Corpus and the TSol

It comes to us as no surprise that a category of the traditional wisdom literature is attributed to Solomon, the son of David, the wise man par excellence. This group I would refer to as the Solomonic corpus. Besides Proverbs and Qoheleth, two canonical psalms (72 and 127)[1] and the Song of Songs may be included in this category of wisdom literature in the Hebrew Bible.[2] As we shall see the attribution of these works of wisdom is inspired by the older tradition concerning the king. The issues that I shall be dealing with in this section are the "son of David" title, the Solomonic attribution in the Solomonic corpus, and related motifs and themes that may have parallels in the TSol. My treatment of the "son of David" title in the TSol will at the moment be focussing on the OT's use of the title.

The Son of David in the Hebrew Bible

The son of David in the OT always refers to a literal son of David, most often Solomon. Only three times does the expression refer to someone other than Solomon (Solomon's brothers Amnon and Absalom in 2 Sam 13:1 = x 2; and Jerimoth, David's son in 2 Chron 11:18 = x 1). The expression also occurs in two books ascribed to Solomon in the canonical sapiental corpus; they are Proverbs and Qoheleth.

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[1] M. Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature," in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT; Assen: Van Gorcum/Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 283-324.

[2] George A. F. Knight and Friedemann W. Golka, Revelation of God: A Commentary on the Books of the Song of Songs and Jonah (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans/ Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1988), 6. Roland E. Murphy has categorised the Song of Songs with Proverbs

Proverbs, a compendium of three sections, each with an ascription pertaining to Solomon in 1:1, 10:1 and 25:1, is a post-exilic work. [3] There is an explicit reference to Solomon in 1:1 in the following words: "The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel." This verse is reminiscent of 1 Kgs 5:9-14. Perhaps Prov 1:6 ("to understand a proverb and a figure, the words of the wise and their riddles.") is pivotal to the Solomonic ascription since the only occurrence of παραβολή for the Hebrew מָשָׁל in Proverbs can be linked with 1 Kings 5:12 where the word describes Solomon literary activity; furthermore, the word, "riddles," (αἰνίγματα =חִידָה) which appears in the second line of Prov 1:6 is also used to referring to the king's literary ability in 1 Kings 10:1. The "son of David" title occurs with the expression, "king of Israel," according to the Hebrew text (Massoretic). The LXX, which has a slightly different worded text, reads: "The Proverbs of Solomon, son of David who reigned in Israel."[4] The LXX attests to "reigned in Israel" as opposed to MT's "king of Israel." [5] The verb "to reign" appears only in the LXX of Proverbs in referring to the "son of David" in connection with his sovereignty over Israel.

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and Ecclesiastes as wisdom books: The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 6.

[3] For more on these headings, see R. Kasis, The Book of Proverbs and Arabic Proverbial Works (VTSup 74; Leiden/ Boston/ Köln: Brill, 1999), 38-40. The rabbis have grouped these three together, see *b.* B. Bat. 14b-15a.

[4] Παροιμία Σαλωμῶντος υἱοῦ Δαυιδ ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ισραηλ

[5] The unpointed text however could be read as a verbal phrase. Some MSS has the על particle between מָלַךְ and יִשְׂרָאֵל. Although the majority of the textual witnesses read "Israel" MSS 106, 130 and 147 read "Jerusalem." Israel may be a reflection of a political situation when Israel was a single state during Solomon's reign. See Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs, 45.

With regards to the language[6] and content[7] Qoheleth can only be dated late; it is another post- exilic Palestinian work dated in the third or fourth century BCE.[8] Curiously, the name of Solomon does not appear here and the Solomonic ascription could have been primarily attributed due to notes in 1:1, 12. There are however motifs relating to Solomon's riches, magnificence and wisdom in 1:12-2:11 which resonate with elements in 1 Kings (1 Kgs 3-11) and 2 Chronicles. The ascription does not seem to be an editorial work but rather integral to the structure of the book. It is most likely that an already established tradition of Solomon's wisdom by the third century BCE in addition to the sapiental nature of Qoheleth was a good enough reason for the association of this work with Solomon.[9]

In Qoh 1:1 the son of David expression appears together with the king of Jerusalem: "Qohelet, the son of David, King in Jerusalem;" and in verse 12 we read "I, Qohelet was king in Jerusalem over Israel." The Kohelet who is identified as the "son of David" in 1:1 is the same person who is the "king in Jerusalem and Israel" in verse 12. The LXX again which has a slight variation in 1:1 attests to a longer expansionistic reading: "son of David, King of Israel in Jerusalem." The LXX rendering may have been influenced by the superscription in Proverbs (1:1) which has "Israel."[10]

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[6] G. A. Barton, The Book of Ecclesiastes (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), 58-59.
[7] R. N. Whybray, Ecclesiastes (NCBC; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans/ London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1989), 5-13.
[8] Scott, Proverbs- Ecclesiastes: Introduction, Translation, and Notes (AB 18; New York: Doubleday, 1965), 192.
[9] Kasis, The Book of Proverbs and Arabic Proverbial Works, 34, 40.
[10] Seow, Ecclesiastes. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 18C; New York/London/ Doubleday, 1997), 95-99.

Song of Songs (Canticles) is a love poem dated in the post -exilic period whose Solomonic attribution in 1:1 appears to be a late editorial work.[11] It seems that Solomon's magnificent literary activity was already established by then and this has led the author to ascribe the work to Solomon. He is mentioned in the third person in 1:5; 3:7, 9, 11; and 8:11, 12 but the "son of David" title is totally lacking in this work. The motif of love for a woman that seems to permeate the chapters of this work reflects 1 Kgs 11:1-8. There is also the possible connection between the renowned Shulammite in chapter 7:1 (LXX and MT = 6:13 Evv) and the reference to Abishag the Shunammite in 1 Kgs 1:3, 15; 2:17-22.[12]

The TSol

There are connections between the TSol and the aforementioned books in the Solomonic corpus. Firstly, it is not coincidental that the TSol has in its title like some of the sapiental works already discussed uses the "son of David" title with the note that he was also King in Jerusalem/of Israel. The title appears at

[11] R. Gordis, The Song of Songs and Lamentations: A Study, Modern Translation and Commentary (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), 78; See Murphy, The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs,119-20.

[12] See H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of the Shulammite," AJSL 56 (1939): 84-91. I shall say more about this later. See also Marvin H. Pope, Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 7C; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977). Four possible interpretations have been put forward to understand the elusive Shulammite. Firstly, from a consonantal perspective scholars have construed the name to be the feminine form (שלמה) of Solomon (שלם) meaning "the one belonging to Solomon." Hence she becomes a counterpart to the legendary Solomon. Unfortunately, the feminine form which appears in Lev 24:11 and 1 Chr 3:19 unlike the attestation in Song of Songs do not have the article. The second possibility is based on the substitution of "l" for "n" hence the name is perceive as a variant of Sunamith (שנמית) meaning one (a girl) from Shulem (שלם) or Shunem (שנם). The latter is the place where the famous girl Abishag came from (see 1 Kgs 1:3-4; 2:13-25). One problem though, this phenomenon of substituting "l" for an "n" is not attested in biblical times; moreover, the woman in Song of Songs is associated with Jerusalem not Shunem. The third explanation is that it is a name or epithet of a goddess; a nickname for Isthar the goddess of love and war. The fourth interprets the name from the root šlm meaning the perfect one. See Pope, Song of Songs, 596-600, and Elizabeth F. Huwiler, "Shulammite," ABD 5: 1227 and "Shunem," ABD 5:1228.

least five times[13] and what is essential to this discussion is its occurrence in the title that introduces the testament. The usage of the title here parallels the introductory note in Qoheleth and Proverbs. Moreover, in the TSol the expression is used in conjunction with the note, "who reigned in Jerusalem." This appears in the title of at least three major manuscripts (MSS PQ and I) and recension C (MS V):

Διαθήκη Σολομῶντος υἱοῦ Δαυεὶδ ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.[14]

From the foregoing discussion it looks as if the author of the TSol might have adopted a similar pseudepigraphical attribution we find in the canonical post-exilic sapiental corpus which links Solomon, the son of David with wisdom literature. This is a notion which may have its roots in 1 Kgs 5:9-14 (MT). The role of the expression in the title of the TSol does not seem to carry any more significance than that in the so-called Solmonic corpus already discussed. Furthermore, only Qoh 1:1 makes the connection between the "son of David" title and "Jerusalem." The name is also found in the TSol as the city in which Solomon reigned. It must be said that although the LXX of Qoheleth does not used the verb ἐβασίλευσεν which occurs in the LXX of Prov 1:1 the expression ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ appears twice (1:1, 12) in Qoheleth referring to the son of David. The author or redactor of the TSol appears to be following the introductory note in Qoheleth (1:1).

[13] The title appears in the Greek titles in MSS PQI and Rec C; Prologue (1:1); Rec C: 12:1 and 13:12; MS D 1:1; MS E: 11:1; MS H 26:9; and 1:7; 5:10; 20:1.
[14] See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 98*-99*.

Secondly, a possible connection with the TSol is in the use of the technical term לָחַשׁ (charmer)[15] occurring in Qoh 10:11. This word has a variety of meanings including "to whisper," "the hiss (as of a snake)," "to exorcise," "referring to one who cast spells," "a conjurer," and "incantation against snakes."[16] It occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 3:3,20; Jer 8:17;) to suggest incantation, charm or an amulet to be worn. The use of לָחַשׁ in Qoheleth may be a technical term for an expert in the language of magic and incantation.[17] Although the Greek equivalent ἐπῴδοντι and its lexemes do not occur in the TSol the latter contains materials which could have been utilised as incantations; and Solomon's role in the TSol could be perceived as a charmer of demons.

A third point is the allusion to the beautiful Shummanite woman in chapter 26 of the TSol. Could there be a possible parallel between the Shulammite in the Song of Songs (7:1) and the TSol? Scholars such as McCown, Conybeare and Duling who have worked with the TSol have intimated a possible connection; however, none has satisfactorily resolved the difference in names in both the biblical and the TSol accounts. Michael D. Goulder has pointed out the Shulammite in Song of Songs is the same Shunammite in 1 Kings because the modern day name for Shunem is Solem or Shulem.[18] The story surrounding this woman as present in the TSol has no parallel in the biblical

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[15] ἐπάδοντι(LXX). The Hebrew word also appears in the Apocryphal Psalms (11QPsAp[a] line 4 of col. V) in the context of demonology and exorcisms. See my discussion of the apocryphal psalms in "Qumran Documents."

[16] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (trans. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden/New York/ Köln: E. J. Brill. 1995), 2.527.

[17] Seow, Ecclesiastes, 318, 27.

[18] Michael D. Goulder, The Story of Fourteen Songs (JSOTSup 36; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1986).

account except for the wider theme of Solomon's passion and the seeming similarity in the name. Incidentally, the oldest manuscript of the Greek text, the Vaticanus attests to hē Soumaneitis (ἡ σουμανεῖτις); this attestation where the letters n and m have been reversed is much closer to Σουμανίτη in the TSol. Could the author of the TSol be drawing from the Greek tradition as preserved in the Vaticanus for the name of the woman who has always been connected with Solomon and his father David? The name in the TSol may be a reflection of the author's knowledge of extant tradition(s) at the time. The attestation in the TSol may well be a corruption of the Greek.

The Solomonic Psalms

Two psalms attributed to Solomon by virtue of the traditional title לשלמה/εἰς Σαλωμών (to/for Solomon) are Psalm 72 (=71 LXX) and 127 (=126 LXX). It must be said that the Solomonic ascription is lacking in several MSS and old translations for both psalms. This may be indicative of a late addition to the texts.[19]

Furthermore, in the Hebrew Psalter the ascription to a Davidic or Solomonic authorship, as denoted by the "ל" as in לדויד or לשלמה is a later editorial work, and was not part of the original compositions hence the superscriptions or titles are generally considered as secondary additions to the individual compositions.[20] They give us very little or no information about the contents of

[19] S. Mowinckel, The Psalms of Israel's Worship (vol. 2; trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas; Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 102-103.

[20] The strong connection between the psalms and liturgy in ancient Israel has led a number of scholars to the premise that the Levites played a crucial role in promoting or even providing explanatory headings for these psalms. Peter W. Flint, however, suggests that some of these superscriptions may not necessarily be a late development. They may go back to earlier

the psalms. B. S. Childs posits that the Psalms' titles are the result of exegetical activity.[21] The preposition "ל" could be construed as a lamed auctoris or an indication to show that a psalm belongs to a particular collection, viz., Solomonic or Davidic. It may be interpreted thus: "for"/"dedicated to," "about" or "concerning." King David appeared to be the favourite personage with whom psalms were associated, even more so in the Greek Psalter where a larger number of Psalms were attributed to him.[22]

Two factors may have contributed to this phenomenon. Firstly, the contents of the individual psalm may be resonant with motifs, themes and language associated with the lives of Solomon and David as depicted in the Hebrew Bible. This may have involved a diligent study of the psalms in relation to OT passages. Secondly, the community's perception of David and Solomon may also have had an influence on this. What I am referring to here is some kind of established tradition that may have linked either Solomon or David with wisdom and the Temple worship. This connection combined with the content of the psalm might have been the precursor of the Solomonic/Davidic attribution. The attribution in the Apocryphal Psalms should likewise be understood in this light.

Jerusalem traditions. See Flint, The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 117; Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalms 1-59. A Commentary (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 31-32; 65-68.

[21] B. S. Childs "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," JSS (1971): 137-50 especially, 143-148.

[22] A. Pietersma "David in the Greek Psalms," VT 91(1980): 213-216; especially 213.

I. Psalm 72

Psalm 72 unlike Psalm 127 has a lot more allusions relating to King Solomon in 1 Kings but like Psalm 127 it has the traditional Solomonic ascription. The LXX however has psalm "to Solomon" (εἰς Σαλωμών). This psalm is generally accepted as a royal psalm.[23] The main protagonist here is both the king's son and the king. But since he cannot be David the other possibility is David's son, Solomon. Hence expression the "king's son" (בן־מלך) could be applied to Solomon.[24] As S. Mowinckel rightly asserts the title (or heading) "is not based on any real, original tradition; it is just a theory which may happen to be right."[25]

There are certainly several points of contact between this royal psalm and 1 Kings in connection with certain features of King Solomon. For example, verses 1, 8, 10 and 15 can be applied to aspects of Solomon as depicted in 1 Kings. These elements may have induced redactors to assign the psalm to Solomon. Verse 1 is a prayer on behalf of the king for justice and righteousness. There is a parallel in Solomon's prayer in Gibeon for an understanding heart to rule his people in 1 Kgs 3(v. 9). The vastness of the king's sovereignty from sea to sea and from rivers to the ends of the earth as

[23] Three approaches in understanding this psalm have been put forward. Firstly, it is perceived as a psalm for a royal enthronement festival. Secondly, it is a late composition with clear messianic overtones. Thirdly, it is a pre-exilic prayer for the king which was adapted and transformed as a vehicle to convey the messianic hopes of the period. The Solomon here is the protector of the weak and poor. See, Kraus, Psalms 60-150. A Commentary (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 76, 80-81. A. Weiser, The Psalms. A Commentary (7th ed., OTL; London: SCM 1986), 502. He has argued the Psalm is an intercession on behalf of the king.

[24] Kraus, Psalms 60-150. A Commentary, 453.

[25] Mowinckel, The Psalms of Israel's Worship, 103.

depicted in Ps 72:8 has parallels too to the vastness of Solomon's kingdom from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines in 1 Kings 4 (v. 21). In verses 10-11 we read of how gifts shall bestowed to this king by foreign kings: Tarshish and Sheba, and how they will bow in front of him. A similar motif we find in 1 Kings (4:34 [Evv]; 5:10; 10:1-10 cf. 2 Chr 9:28-33). The mention of the gold of Sheba in Ps 72:15 parallels the gold from the Queen of Sheba in 1 Kings 10 (v. 10). Furthermore, E. Solmovic has argued for a number of verbal parallels between the sentiments expressed in Psalm 72 (vv. 7-12) and those of 1 Kings 5. There is parallel in the words שלום (72:7) and ושלום (5:4=MT); there are parallels in the words dominion (רדה) and river (נהר) with reference to Solomon's sovereignty. Both words are found in Psalm 72:8 and 1 Kgs 5:4 (MT).

Finally, again referring to Solomon's dominion we find parallels in three areas in Psalm 72:10-11: (a) the kings (מלכים) falling down (שחה) before him (b) the kings will bring presents (מנחה) (c) they shall serve (עבד) him. Similarly in 1 Kings 5 (v. 1) Solomon reigned over the kingdoms (הממלכות), presents (מנחה) were brought to him and the kings served (עבד) him. [26] It must be said, however, that although it is stated in 1 Kings and Psalm 72 that the king was served by foreign kings nothing is said about these dignitaries prostrating (שחה) themselves before Solomon in 1 Kings or 2 Chronicles as attested of the king in Psalm 72. Secondly, the Queen of Sheba is not mentioned in the royal psalm. Thirdly, the Temple/building motif in Psalm 127 and 1 Kings, one

that seems to take precedence in the work of the Chronicler, is strangely absent in this psalm.

From a comparative point of view the TSol does reflect some of the motifs in this psalm primarily because both were drawing from 1 Kings. The motif of foreign dignitaries paying homage to King Solomon is also attested in the TSol. This may go back to the biblical tradition in 1 Kings but it is worth noting that it is only in Psalm 72 that we find the word שחה or its Greek equivalent προσκύνεω in the LXX used to describe the act of foreign kings "bowing down" before the king. The TSol uses a similar Greek word in the phrase προσεκύνησεν ἐνώπιόν μου (TSol 19:3) to indicate Sheba's attitude when she acknowledged the greatness of King Solomon. This particular act is however not said of Sheba in the biblical tradition in 1 Kings or 2 Chronicles. The verbal parallel may suggest that the author of the TSol could have utilised other traditions about royalty such as that reflected in Psalm 72 regarding Solomon. It does appear that the author of the TSol does not rely solely on 1 Kings or 2 Chronicles but has supplemented his narrative as found in the TSol on Solomon and the foreign kings with other sources.

II. Psalm 127 (= LXX 126)

The traditional title does not appear in some of the LXX manuscripts for this psalm but is attested in 11QPs[a]. Psalm 127 belongs to the psalms called the "song of ascents." The sapiental nature of this psalm may have played a part

[26] E. Solmovic, "Towards an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," ZAW 91(1979): 375-76.

in its Solomonic attribution.[27] There are allusions to the sapiental corpus, for example, Ps 127:2 alludes to Prov 10:22 and Ps 127:3 to Prov 13:22;[28] furthermore, the sleep motif in verse 2 of Psalm 127 has allusions in Prov 3:24 and Qoh 5:12. There may be an indirect connection to Solomon in the use of the word "beloved" (ידיד) in Ps 127:2b since Solomon who was called Jedidiah (ידידיה) was also regarded as the "beloved" one of the Lord in 2 Sam 12:24-25.

Secondly, in verse 1 of Psalm 127 we come across the building motif in association with the house (בית). This could be a reference to Solomon's building activity in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles even though Solomon is not mentioned. Daniel E. Fleming has reiterated that the building structure such as the Temple is often referred to as a "house" (בית). In addition, the word pair house-city occurs three times in Solomon's dedicatory prayer of the Temple: 1 Kgs 8:16, 44, 48 (cf. 2 Chr 6:34, 38). The pair could be seen as points of reference for the house of God on earth.[29] The stress is upon God as the sole protector and builder, a theme which is echoed in Psalm 127. Furthermore, there is another connection between Psalm 127 (v.3) and Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8 (v. 16) where Solomon ascent to the throne and the building of the Temple were perceived as God's reward to David.[30] A probable parallel with

[27] M. Dahood, Psalms III, 101-150: Introduction, Translation, and Notes (AB 17A; New York: Doubleday, 1970), 222-3.
[28] Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 454-5; Dahood, Psalms III, 101-150, 224. Some have categorised this psalm as wisdom poetry, see Mowinckel, The Psalms of Israel's worship, 103; Kraus, 453.
[29] Daniel E. Fleming, "'House'/'City': An Unrecognised Parallel Word Pair," JBL 105 (1986): 689-93. See also A. A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms: Introduction and Psalms 1-72 (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 46.
[30] Solmovic, "Towards an Understanding," 377.

the TSol is the building motif which we have already encountered in my discussion of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles.

Preliminary Conclusions.

If the Solomonic title or ascription in Qoheleth, Proverbs, Song of Songs and the two Psalms in the canonical Psalter are secondary to the text, viz., they are all editorial work, then two factors must have contributed to this development. The first is the internal evidence that connects aspects of King Solomon with the older tradition in 1 Kings (cf. 2 Chronicles) of the Hebrew Bible. The second, and more important, is the established wisdom tradition. The latter may have to do with various aspects Solomon's wisdom rooted in the biblical tradition in 1 Kgs 5:12. This notion of Solomon's literary wisdom suggests that Solomon was a composer of proverbs (משל) poems and songs (שיר) and furthermore, he solved riddles (חידות). A similar phenomenon must have occurred in the pseudepigraphical attribution of the TSol. Moreover, other aspects of Solomon as portrayed in 1 Kings 1-11 such as a wise king, the Temple builder might have contributed to the use of the son of David expression in conjunction with his name.

The author or redactor of the TSol most probably followed a similar pattern of attribution found in the Solomonic corpus in his titles of the TSol; and he might have been influenced by the introductory note in Qoheleth (1:1) since it is here the title is linked with Jerusalem. The use of the technical term לָחַשׁ may be indicative of another possible contact between the TSol and the Solomonic corpus. Although this word does not occur in the TSol, the latter carries

overtones of magic that may be conveyed in the meaning of לָחַשׁ. The reference to the Shulammite and the air of eroticism in the Song of Songs may have had some bearing on the Shummanite story in TSol 26, and finally, the use of προσκυνέω or its lexemes to describe the respectful attitude of foreign dignitaries who came to see Solomon.

Chapter 4

Tobit and the TSol

Introduction

In the preceding sections I have attempted to show some of the parallels between the TSol and the OT canonical works such as the Hebrew and Greek texts of both 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. These parallels are mainly based on the motifs of wisdom and the Temple and how they are connected with King Solomon. In this respect I have also included the Solomonic attribution. In the subsequent sections I shall be discussing two books from the deuterocanonical works also known as the apocrypha: Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Most scholars have dated the book of Tobit somewhere between 250 and 175 BCE, a date before the canonisation of the Prophets as Scriptures and prior to the Maccabean period (167-135 BCE). Carey A. Moore has come up with a plausible date of composition not earlier than 300 BCE based on cumulative evidence with a terminus a quo of the fourth century BCE and a pre-Maccabean terminus ad quem.[1] The provenance for this book is

[1] Carey A. Moore, "Tobit, Book of," ABD 6. 585-594; See also Tobit (AB 40A; New York, Doubleday, 1996), 40-41; and D. C. Simpson's introductory comment in "The Book of Tobit," in APOT 1:174-241. Some of the arguments for the terminus a quo suggested above can be summarised as follows: i) Tobit's geographical and historical errors argue against dating the book in the fifth or seventh or fifth century BCE. (ii) The "affinities" of the Aramaic text in Tobit at Qumran with Imperial Aramaic. (iii) There is no mention of a belief in a personal resurrection or the afterlife. A problem with this argument though is arguing from silence. See Moore, Tobit, 40. Some of the reasons for the suggested terminus ad quem date are as follows: (i) there is no evidence of ethnic and religious hatred characterised of the period between 176-135. (ii) Tobit's perspectives and practices parallels other apocryphal books believed to have been composed in the late third century BCE such as Judith and Daniel. Some of these practices are (i) burial's of one's kin (1:16-18) (ii) dietary restrictions (1:11), the view against marrying outside the faith (4:12); (iii) Tobit's attitude towards the Gentile is certainly an indication of a time prior to the religious hatred of the Maccabean period. As Moore honestly states neither of these arguments is persuasive or decisive. See Moore, Tobit, 41-42.

debatable.[2] The Egyptian provenance[3] that was dominant within scholarly circles in the first half the twentieth century[4] has gradually lost to an Eastern Diaspora or a Palestinian provenance.[5] One reason for the difficulty in locating Tobit in cultural milieu may have to do with deciding whether the book in the first place originated in Palestine or in the Diaspora. John J. Collins in his discussion of Western Diaspora has pinpointed the difficulty in drawing a line between literature of Diaspora and that of Judea.[6] Tobit exists in several languages including Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, Syriac. The Hebrew and Aramaic are now being added to this list due to the discovery at Qumran. There is no doubt that the original text was Semitic, most likely, Aramaic.[7] It must be said however that the Aramaic documents from Qumran are quite fragmentary.

The Greek text on which the English translations are based can be divided into three text types or recensions: G^{I} /(LXX^{ABN}), G^{II} /(LXX^{S}) and G^{III}/(LXX). G^{I} is based on codices Alexandrinus (A), Vaticanus (B), Basiliano-Vaticanus (N) and many miniscules. This is a shorter text compared to G^{II} and was at one time considered the more original in some quarters. The King James and other modern translations prior to and including the Revised Standard Version

[2] Alexander, "Incantations and Books of Magic," HJP 3,1: 223.
[3] This was primarily based on the connection between the Story of Ahiqar which was believed to be of an Egyptian origin, and the Tractate of Khons. For a detailed discussion on this, see Simpson, "The Book of Tobit," 185-92. Paul Deselaers, Das Buch Tobit: studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie (OBO 43; Freiburg, Schweiz; Göttingen: Universitäts-verlag-Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1982) and J. Schwartz, "Remarques Littéraires sur le Roman de Tobit," RHPR 67 (1987):293-97;
[4] Simpson, "The Book of Tobit," 174-241, especially, 185-87. Moore, Tobit, 40-41.
[5] See Moore, Tobit, notes 104 and 105. Moore has also provided lists of other possibilities: Persia, Syria, Assyria/Babylonia and Palestine, Moore, Tobit, 42-43;
[6] John J. Collins, Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 10.
[7] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Cave 4," CBQ 57 (1995): 665-675; see also Simpson, "The Book of Tobit," 174.

are based on this recension. G^{II} is based primarily on codex Sinaiticus (א). This recension has the longest and clearest text, and includes MSS 319 (Tob 3: 6-6:16) and 910 (Tob 2:2-5, 8). It often agrees with the Old Latin. More recent translations including the Jerusalem Bible, the New American Bible, the New Revised Standard Version, and the Revised English Bible have used G^{II}. This recension is now the preferred by most Western scholars. G^{III} is a partially preserved Greek recension based upon MSS 44, 106, 107 and the Origenic Syriac.[8] There is even the suggestion that G^{I} is a recension G^{II} which has a Semitic Vorlage.[9]

Despite its Jewish flavour in terms of character and message, this book was not accepted as part of the Jewish canon. Although several attempts have been made to explain why it was not canonised none of the reasons put forward is convincing. The simple fact remains we do not know why Tobit was not canonised.[10] Curiously, although the Western church fathers accepted it conditionally, the Eastern fathers denied its canonical status. Origen seemed to give it a qualified status while Pseudo-Clement, Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria referred to or cited Tobit.

I. Sarah and Asmodeus

Tobit may be an example of the earliest specific case of demon exorcism in Jewish literature where ritual practices are used to protect the hero from the

[8] See Simpson, "The Book of Tobit," 175, Moore, Tobit, 55-56.
[9] See Moore, Tobit, 56, note 147.
[10] Moore, "Tobit, Book of," ABD 6:592.

onslaught of the demon, Asmodeus.[11] If one agrees with T. F. Glasson[12] that the main story in Tobit has to do with the marriage of Tobias to Sarah, and the overcoming of the hostile demon Asmodeus with Raphael's help then the main characters are Raphael and Asmodeus. The latter is mentioned twice (3:8,17) and Raphael nine times (3:17; 5.4; 7.8; 8:2; 9:1; 9:5; 11.2; 11:7; and 12:15).

For comparative purposes I shall confine myself only to the narratives that link the characters: Tobit, Raphael, Asmodeus, Tobias and Sarah. I shall be quoting from the RSV for my English translation except otherwise stated. My first passage which is chapter 3 deals with the prayers of both Tobit and Sarah and how God responded to these prayers. The narrative contained in 3:7-17 can be divided into three smaller sections: (a) an accusation is levied against Sarah (1-9), (b) Sarah's prayer for death (10-15), and (c) God's answer to the prayers of Tobit and Sarah by sending Raphael (16-17):

> (7) On the same day, at Ecbatana in Media, it also happened that Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, was reproached by one of her father's maids.[13] (8) For she had been married to seven husbands [bridegrooms], and the wicked [evil] demon Asmodeus had killed each of them before they had been with her as is customary for wives [women]. So the maid[14] said to her, "You are the one who kills[15] your husbands [bridegrooms]! See, you have already been married to seven husbands [bridegrooms][16] and have not borne the name of a single one of them. (9) Why do you beat us? Because your husbands are dead? Go with them! May we never see a son or daughter of

[11] See John M. Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition (SBT 28; London: SCM Press, 1974), 63.
[12] T. F. Glasson "The Main Source of Tobit" ZAW 71 (1959): 275-77; especially, 275.
[13] G^{I} has "has was reproached by her father's maid." There is suggestion that it is difficult to envisage that one maid would create such a problem as to drive Sarah to suicide (vv. 8-9). The Greek translator having the Hebrew *'mh* in front of him which can be read either as *'immāh* ("her mother") or *'āmāh* a "maid servant" might have chose the wrong word. See Moore, Tobit, 145, and $4QTob^{b}$ (4Q197, Frg 1); Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in Qumran Cave 4.XIV (ed. Magen Broshi et al; DJD 19, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1-76, especially, 41.
[14] G^{I} reads "they"
[15] G^{I} has "strangling." There is no reading of any of the Qumran material to support G^{I}.
[16] G^{I} reads "you've already had seven."

yours!"(10) On that day she was grieved in spirit and wept. When she had gone up to her father's upper room, she intended to hang herself. But she thought it over and said, "Never shall they reproach my father, saying to him, 'You had only one beloved daughter but she hanged herself because of her distress.' And I shall bring my father in his old age down in sorrow to Hades. It is better for me not to hang myself, but to pray the Lord that I may die and not listen to these reproaches anymore." (11) At that same time, with hands outstretched toward the window, she prayed and said,. . . (16) At that very moment, the prayers of both of them were hear in the glorious presence of God.[17] (17) So Raphael was sent to heal both of them: Tobit, by removing[18] the white films from his eyes, so that he might see God's light with his eyes; and Sarah, daughter of Raguel, by giving her in marriage to Tobias son of Tobit, and by setting her free[19] from the wicked demon Asmodeus. For Tobias was entitled to have her before all others who had desired to marry her. At the same time that Tobit returned from the courtyard into his house, Sarah daughter of Raguel came down from her upper room.

The aforementioned passage represents the longer recension (G^{II}) which is not so different from G^{I}. I have however made comments in my footnotes where the differences are noteworthy. Sarah prayed because of her predicament: the maid's negative perception of her due to the death of her seven bridegrooms (literally, men). Several points emerge from this passage.

Firstly, there is an emphasis on the number seven. It is cited at least four different times (cf. 3:8, 15; 6:14; 7:11) in the book with specific reference to Sarah's bridegrooms. In each case something new is unravelled about her marriages and the death of the bridegrooms. In 3:8 we are told simply that Sarah was married to seven bridegrooms and all of them were killed by Asmodeus. Secondly, Asmodeus[20] is identified as the evil demon

[17] "Of the great Raphael" is in the place of "of God" in G^{I}.
[18] LXX ℵ has ἀπολῦσαι("to loose from" or "to release") and G^{I} has λεπίσαι ("to scale away").
[19] G^{II} reads λύσαι ("to loose") and G^{I} has δῆσαι ("to bind"). Unfortunately, the Qumran materials cannot throw light on this since the verse is missing in all relevant fragments.
[20] The name does not appear in the Hebrew Bible. In the Babylonian Talmud his role appears to be didactic; and he is invoked in spells and incantations. As regarding to the origin of the name the debate continues. It is hinged upon whether the name is based upon Hebrew שמד "to destroy," or represents Aešma ("anger," "wrath," "fury") daeva ("god") or Aesmadiv "the demon of anger") who accompanies Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) the God of evil. Another

(τὸ πονεηρὸν δαιμόνιον).[21] My third point is the appearance of Raphael[22] in the scene (vv. 16-17). After the prayers (Tobit and Sarah's) things started to happen; it was as if the prayer catalyses God's response in sending Raphael. The insertion of a prayer in this story signals a dramatic change;[23] God reacts immediately but more so his response seems to be potentiated by the appearance of Raphael.

The role of Raphael in thwarting Asmodeus is noted. According to the above passage Raphael was sent to heal Sarah and Tobit: he should restore sight to blind Tobit and "set free" and/ "bind" Asmodeus depending on the Greek recension (see note 19). Both verbs, λῦσαι and "δῆσαι, which appear in G^{I} and G^{II} respectively are synonymous technical terms used in magic. While the latter is used of "binding" demons in order to render them helpless, the former is used in the context of "signing a divorce writ" in order to set a demon free of the possessed.[24] On the basis of the nuances of these two technical terms P. E. Dion has posited an equivalent term, "pattar" (פַּטַר), because of its double usage in both divorce documents and religious exorcism. This term encapsulates the nuances of both λῦσαι and δῆσαι.[25] Raphael's action by

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suggestion moves away from the etymology of the word and suggests that the Persian Aešma daeva means "the sky demon." The identification of Aešma daeva with Asmodeus is tempting because Sarah comes from Media (Moore, Tobit, 147). See J. Barr, "The Question of Religious Influence: The case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity," JAAR 53 (1985): 201-35. He points out philological objections to identifying Asmodeus with Aešma daeva. Gray, "The Meaning of the Name Asmodeus," JRAS (1934): 790-92. See also M. Hutter, "Asmodeus," DDD, 106-108.

[21] Asmodeus is identified שרא in 6:8 of $4QTob^{b}$ (4Q197, Frg. 1). See Fitzmyer, DJD19; 41-42.

[22] The name rp'l (רפאל) literally means "God has healed." The first time the name appears in biblical literature is in Tobit. The angel features in both Jewish and apocalyptic literature. M. Mach, "Raphael," DDD, 688. See also Ginzberg, Legends, 1:241; 5.234; 1:173, 5.234.

[23] Moore, Tobit, 141.

[24] See my discussion of the Aramaic Incantation Texts.

[25] P. E. Dion, "Raphael l'Exorciste," Biblica 57 (1976): 405-13. See Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913). The word appears in

"loosening" the demon (cf. 8:2-3) could be seen as "divorcing" Asmodeus from Sarah. This makes sense in the light of 6:14-15 (G^{I}) where Tobias justified his reluctance and fear of marrying Sarah by explaining to Raphael that a demon was in love with Sarah (6:15).[26] Asmodeus had to be divorced from Sarah before any husband –wife relationship can be viable.

In the passage (6:14-15) below we are informed about a specific evil scheme that is directed towards the bridal chamber:

> (14)Then Tobias said in answer to Raphael[27], "Brother Azariah, I have heard that she already has been married to seven husbands (lit. men) and that they died in the bridal chamber. On the night when they went in to her, they would die. I have heard people saying that it was a demon that killed them. (15) It does not harm her, but it kills anyone who desires to approach her. So now, since I am the only son my father has, I am afraid that I may die and bring my father's and mother's life down to their grave, grieving for me--and they have no other son to bury them."

What we have here is a demon who appears to have formed a special relationship with a girl and consequently prevents her from any sexual relationship with any man by murdering all potential husbands. The only way to solve this problem is to "loosen" or "divorce" her from Asmodeus hence severing the relationship. In so doing Tobias' marriage to and future with Sarah was secured.

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certain Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur: Bowls No 9 line 9; No 11 line 7 and No 15 line 8; Moore, Tobit, 158. See also Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targum, 1157.

[26] The reading "of the demon because he is in love with her" is attested by MS 319, OL (Vetus Latina based on the LXX), and $4QTob^{a,b}$; LXX^{S} lacks this. $4QTob^{a}$ has ["I am afraid of this demon] which is [in lov]e with her (see line 4Q196=$4QpapTob^{a}$, Frg. 14i). LXX^{S}: καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τούτου ὅτι φιλεῖ αὐτήν and the Latin: timeo hoc daemonium, quoniam diligit illam Cf. $4QTob^{b}$ (See Fitzmyer, DJD19, 20-21, 48-50). Both Aramaic fragments are important for the reconstruction of a complete text. Moore, Tobit,158.

[27] G^{I} has "the angel" instead.

II. Raphael's Instructions

The crux of chapter 6 is Raphael's instructions to Tobias. His role here is paramount because he alone knows the procedures for healing and exorcism. Raphael's instructions can be perceived in two parts. The first part (vv. 3-9) deals with the uses of the fish and a general praxis relating to the curative properties of the parts of the fish.

> (3)Then the young man went down to wash his feet in the Tigris River. Suddenly a large fish leaped up from the water and tried to swallow the young man's foot, and he cried out. (4) But the angel said to the young man, "Catch hold of the fish and hang on to it!" So the young man grasped the fish and drew it up on the land. (5)Then the angel said to him, "Cut open the fish and take out its gall, heart, and liver. Keep them with you, but throw away the intestines.[28] For its gall, heart, and liver are useful as medicine." (6) So after cutting open the fish the young man gathered together the gall, heart, and liver; then he roasted and ate some of the fish, and kept some to be salted.[29] The two continued on their way together until they were near Media. (7) Then the young man questioned the angel and said to him, "Brother Azariah, what medicinal value is there in the fish's heart and liver, and in the gall?" (8) He replied, "As for the fish's heart and liver, you must burn them to make a smoke in the presence of a man or woman afflicted by a demon or evil spirit, and every affliction will flee away and never remain with that person any longer. (9) And as for the gall, anoint a person's eyes where white films have appeared on them; blow upon them, upon the white films, and the eyes will be healed."

Raphael gives Tobias general instructions about the apotropaic nature of the parts of a fish caught in the Tigris River that would drive away a demon or spirit that afflicts one, and heal anyone who suffers from blindness or any form of eye disease. The second (vv. 17-18), the climax of the chapter, is more important because it focuses on Tobias's predicament and the modus operandi to resolve the problem. In the subsequent verses below we find the application of the use of a fish's liver and heart in a real life situation:

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[28] The reading, "but throw away the intestines. For its gall, heart, and liver are useful medicine." is lacking in G^{I}. 4QTob^{b} preserves a section as it is in the present text.
[29] The reading "kept some to be salted" or Moore's "but the rest of it he salted and kept," is lacking in G^{I}.

> (17)When you enter the bridal chamber, take some of the fish's liver and heart, and put them on the embers of the incense. An odour will be given off; (18) the demon will smell it and flee, and will never be seen near her any more. Now when you are about to go to bed with her, both of you must first stand up and pray, imploring the Lord of heaven that mercy and safety may be granted to you. Do not be afraid, for she was set apart for you before the world was made. You will save her, and she will go with you. I presume that you will have children by her, and they will be as brothers to you. Now say no more!" When Tobias heard the words of Raphael and learned that she was his kinswoman, related through his father's lineage, he loved her very much, and his heart was drawn to her. (Tob 6: 17-18)

The name of the fish is not mentioned but according to the text it was a large fish. There are two points worth noting here. Firstly, the smoked heart and liver will thwart Asmodeus, and secondly, the gall was to be used for the healing of blind Tobit.[30] The redactor of G ^{II} links the heart and the liver as one medicine and the gall as another but this distinction is lost in G ^{I}.[31] Tobit informs us about the potency of the heart and the liver in the thwarting of Asmodeus.

I must reiterate that Raphael plays a significant role not only in Tobit but also in other pseudepigraphal literature such as in 1 Enoch. In Tobit, he is instrumental in protecting the bridal chamber of Sarah, hence protecting the life of her future husband, Tobias. Raphael functions as a mediator (3:16; 12:12), a message bearer (5:10; 10:20), a personal helper (5:10; 6:4-5, 8; 9:2-4), a 'chastiser' or 'tester' (12:13)[32] and a healer, although indirectly through an intermediary (12:14). He reveals secret knowledge to Tobias on how to thwart Asmodeus. It is through his invaluable instructions that Tobias was able not only to protect his own life but also to marry the woman he

[30] Pliny reported the use of fish gall as an ointment for the eyes, see Natural History, XXXIII. 24.
[31] Moore, Tobit, 201.

loved. Although Raphael does not actually do the thwarting he is the one who eventually binds the demon.

In chapter 8 Tobias follows Raphael's instructions and successfully thwarted Asmodeus. The latter fled to the uppermost part of Egypt where he was bound by Raphael. I shall now turn my attention to two blocks of narrative: 8:1-5 and 8:8-15. Each block leads into a prayer. Unfortunately, no preserved Qumran texts for these sections have surfaced yet.

> (1)When they had finished eating and drinking they wanted to retire; so they took the young man and brought him into the bedroom. (2)Then Tobias remembered the words of Raphael, and he took the fish's liver and heart out of the bag where he had them and put them on the embers of the incense.[33] (3)The odor [odour] of the fish so repelled the demon that he fled to the remotest parts[34] of Egypt. But Raphael followed him, and at once bound him there hand and foot.[35] (4) When the parents had gone out and shut the door of the room, Tobias got out of bed and said to Sarah, "Sister, get up, and let us pray and implore our Lord that he grant us mercy and safety." (5) So she got up, and they began to pray and implore that they might be kept safe. Tobias began by saying,. . .

The first stage of the modus operandi employed here by Tobias was to fumigate the demon with the smoking organs (liver and heart) of a fish. The pungent-smelling smoke is a common and widespread technique utilised throughout the ancient world to exorcise evil spirits.[36] The second stage was binding Asmodeus once he fled to the uttermost parts of Egypt. It is interesting that Egypt is the likely place for a demon to flee; a place perceived

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[32] Ibid., 29.
[33] G^{I} adds "and made a smoke."
[34] Or "uttermost" as attested by G^{I}, Syriac and Old Latin but G^{II} reads "he fled through the air (lit. upward) to parts."
[35] The Old Latin attests to a variant reading that adds "hand and foot." Moreover, it is generally pointed out that the Aramaic technical term for binding or incapacitating demons 'sr (אסר) used also in Mandaic bowls involves binding hand and foot.
[36] See Moore, Tobit, 236.

by the ancient world as the centre of magic and witchcraft.[37] Attempt has also been made to link a sector of Egypt with the waterless and forsaken place which is believed to be inhabited by demons.[38]

The property of the gall of the fish is demonstrated in the healing of blind Tobit in 11: 7-14:[39]

> (7) Raphael said to Tobias, before he had approached his father,[40] "I know that his eyes will be opened. (8) Smear the gall of the fish on his eyes; the medicine will make the white films shrink and peel off from his eyes, and your father will regain his sight and see the light." (9) Then Anna ran up to her son and threw her arms around him, saying, "Now that I have seen you, my child, I am ready to die." And she wept. (10) Then Tobit got up and came stumbling out through the courtyard door. Tobias went up to him, (11) with the gall of the fish in his hand, and holding him firmly, he blew into his eyes,[41] saying, "Take courage, father." With this he applied the medicine on his eyes, (12) and it made them smart. [42](13) Next, with both his hands he peeled off[43] the white films[44] from the corners of his eyes. Then Tobit saw his son and threw his arms around him, (14) and he wept and said to him, "I see you, my son, the light of my eyes!"

Again Raphael gives instructions to Tobias as to how to use the fish's gall. Both Greek recensions seem to indicate that the use of gall was therapeutic. While the gall was used in healing blind Tobit, we shall see later in the TSol that this organ has some thwarting qualities against Asmodeus. It is only in

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[37] b.Qidd. 49b. Some have argued that this militates against an Egyptian provenance. It follows that the book must have been written somewhere far away from Egypt.
[38] Cf. Isa 13:21; 34:14 and Matt 12:43, Rev 18:2 (here is reference to Babylon). See Moore, Tobit, 236.
[39] A small fragment containing six lines of vv. 10-14 is preserved in the Hebrew fragments of 4QTobit[e] (4Q200): (11) [בעיניו ויאמר]לו אל תירא אבי [ושם הסם ע]ל עיניו וחרוק
ורת הדג בידו ונפוץ [ומר : and the g]all of the fish (was) in his hand, and he scattered (some of it) [on his eyes] [and he said] to him, 'Do not be afraid my father',[and he put the medicine] [o]n his eyes, and it smarted [(12):] [ ] הריו]ת עיניו [the white scales of his eyes. (13) [בנו] וירא את And he saw [his son][(14) 'my] son [ ] (See Fitzmyer, "Tobit," DJD 19, 69-70).
[40] G[I] omits "to Tobias before he had reached his father."
[41] G[I] omits "with the gall of the fish in his hand . . .he blew into his eyes"
[42] LXX[S] lacks v. 12 and its 11:13 reads:
καὶ ἀπελέπισεν ἑκατέραις ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν κανθῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ; G[I] has "he sprinkled the gall upon his father's eyes."
[43] G[II] has "and he gave freely."
[44] "the white films/patches" is reading of both G[I] and Old Latin. G[II] omits this.

chapter 12 that Raphael discloses his identity as one of the seven angels: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One (12:15)."

The TSol

McCown has suggested that the angelology and demonology of the TSol are "practically those of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha."[45] What exactly he meant in making such remarks he does not say. Furthermore, Alexander hints that this section of the TSol (chapter 5) is dependent on the book of Tobit; he too does not elaborate on the nature of the dependency.[46] I intend to see how much of the TSol resembles Tobit; and perhaps one will be able to establish how much material in the TSol comes from Tobit. Since I shall primarily be focusing on the characterisations of the main characters (Asmodeus and Raphael) special attention will then be on TSol 5: 1-13. Additionally, I shall also consider the modus operandi employed in thwarting Asmodeus.

For the sake of simplicity I have divided chapter 5 into three sections. The first deals with the name and activity of Asmodeus (vv. 1, 7-8). Verse 4 identifies Asmodeus' in terms of his astrological location. The second part introduces the thwarting agents, including the thwarting angel and the actual procedures in thwarting Asmodeus (vv. 9-10, 13), and the third centres on the binding of the demon (vv. 11-12). These elements as shown below are fundamental to the structure of the testament:

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[45] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 59.
[46] Alexander, "Incantations and Books of Magic," HJP 3,1: 374.

A. The appearance of Asmodeus
B. Interrogation of Asmodeus
C. The Identity of the demon
i. Who are you?
ii. Name
iii. Origin
iv. Astrological connection
v. Prescience
vi. Activities
D. Thwarting agents (Raphael or smoked organs of a fish)
E. Sealing of Demon
F. Asmodeus consigned to work on the Temple building

A similar pattern is followed for other demons. The core of the unit above is the demon's identity: name, origin, astrological location and activities. The text below is my translation of the Greek.

> (1)I commanded another demon to be brought before to me; and he (Beelzeboul) brought me the evil demon Asmodeus, bound. (7)The demon said, "I am called the renowned Asmodeus; I caused wickedness of men to spread throughout the world. I am plotting against newlyweds; I conceal[47] (the) beauty of virgins and change (their) hearts." (8) I said to him, "Is this your only work? He spoke again: "I spread madness for women[48] through the stars and for a huge wave[49] and I have murdered up to seven."[50]

This is the first reference to Asmodeus in the TSol. He is described in similar words as in Tobit—the evil demon (τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα). The activity of

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[47] I have translated the word, ἀφανίζω, as "conceal" assuming that this was Asmodeus' tactic to prevent men from being attracted to the virgins.

[48] "θηλυμανία" means maddening women (an active use), while "θηλυμανεω" means madness about/after women. The former usage seems appropriate here. Professor Dover, however, has suggested that the Greek θηλυμανίας could mean either "madness for women" or "madness in women." I prefer "madness for women." The reference to the stars here may be an allusion to the fallen angels who are often depicted as stars (cf. TSol 5:3 and 6:1). It reminds us of the "watchers" or "fallen angels" story where angels were enticed by the daughters of men. It is therefore not unreasonable that Asmodeus who himself is mad about women is spreading the same illness to other fallen angels.

[49] The expression εἰς τρικυμίας in the present context is difficult to decipher.

[50] (8). . . . καὶ ἕως ἑπτὰ ἐφόνευσα." "and I have murdered up to seven." MSS V and W omit TSol 5: 6-8. Note M. Whittaker's English translation in AOT: "Through the stars I spread madness among women, and then it spreads itself in great waves; and I have killed up to seven." MS P continues from where MS I stops. The former has a different reading between "διὰ τῶν" and "ἐφονευσα" and then continues. See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 23*. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," (20-21) reads: I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds." MS P appears to be expressing another form of θηλυμανια with

Asmodeus in the TSol may have parallels in Tobit. The renowned Asmodeus who is an offspring of both man and angel is responsible for the several misdemeanours such as plotting against newlyweds; how he does that we are not told. He conceals the beauty of virgins and changes their heart. The emphasis seems to be on newlyweds (νεονύμφων) and virgins (παρθένων). His activity towards women, especially virgins, is malicious because Asmodeus' true intention is an attempt to prevent these virgins from having any relationships with human beings. In addition to this, Asmodeus is responsible for spreading madness for women because he himself is mad about them. Parallels between the TSol and Tobit are evident in the activity of Asmodeus. The plotting against the newlyweds as recorded in the above passage may be reminiscent of Asmodeus' onslaught against Sarah's future husbands. Moreover, MS I of TSol 5:8 alludes to "up to seven" who were killed. This number echoes Tobit where specific reference to the "seven bridegrooms" of Sarah murdered by Asmodeus is brought to our attention in chapters 3, 6 and 7. Again Asmodeus' inclination for virgins and the spreading of madness for women may be reminiscent of his own relationship with Sarah who was still a virgin since none of the seven bridegrooms were successful in consummating the marriage. Unlike the TSol, the book of Tobit is not interested in the origin or astrological location of Asmodeus.

The next section (vide infra) deals not only with prescription for thwarting but also the description of the procedure which leads to incapacitating Asmodeus but also introduces our second character, Raphael.

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particular emphasis on mankind thereby shifting away from the astrological/ angelological slant evidence in the passage above.

(9) Then I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaoth, "Asmodeus, fear God, and tell me by which angel you are thwarted." The demon said, Raphael the one who stands before God; but also a liver and a gall of a fish smoking on coals of saffron[51] drives me away. (10) I asked him again saying, "Do not hide anything from me, for I am Solomon the Son of David. Tell me the name of the fish you fear[52]." He replied, "It is called the Glanis. It is found in the rivers of Assyria and it is hatched only there; I am also found in those parts. (11) I said to him, "nothing more about you, Asmodeus?" He said to me "the power of God which binds me with unbreakable bonds by his seal knows that what I have said is true. I beg you, King Solomon, do not condemn me to water. (12) But I smiled and replied, "As the Lord, God of my father lives, you will have iron to wear . . . . (13) So I Solomon glorified God, who gave me this authority; then, taking the liver and the gall of the fish, along with a fragment of white[53] storax, I burned (them) under Asmodeus because he was powerful, and his voice was thwarted, as well as a tooth full of bitterness. (bd-b)

Raphael is depicted in the TSol as a thwarting angel. An important connection between the TSol and Tobit is that Raphael is pitted specifically against Asmodeus in both documents. Raphael represents a thwarting agent in the TSol, and he is also mentioned together with other thwarting agents such as the organs of a fish. If I am right, the demon may be thwarted by two means: by the angel Raphael or by fumigation with the liver and gall of the sheath fish on smoking coals of saffron. In vv. 11-13 of chapter 5, Asmodeus is captured, bound and harnessed by Solomon in order to help in the construction of the Temple. Solomon was able to thwart the demon's voice as well as the tooth full of bitterness with the aid of the smoking gall and liver of the fish, along with a fragment of white storax.

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[51] I agree with Jackson's suggestion "on coals of saffron" contra Duling's "on coals of charcoal" because κροκέ (ον) means "of or made of saffron," see, Liddell and Scott, LSJ 1:997. Besides, a similar word (κρόκος) occurs in 6:10 which Duling correctly translates as "saffron."

[52] The word means to "revere, or worship," however, since the context does not allow for such translation that I have translated as "fear."

[53] MSS N and P attest to λύων instead of λευκοῦ (white) reading like thus: "untying Asmodeus."

Two significant points emerge from the aforementioned text. Firstly, the apotropaic properties of the organs of a fish (gall and the liver) are shared elements in both Tobit and the TSol. Curiously, there is no mention of the heart of a fish in the TSol. What has then become of the heart? Could the author have deliberately omitted this knowing the Tobit tradition? But what is more interesting is how the author still retains two ingredients necessary for the praxis by replacing the "heart" with the "gall," another vital organ mentioned in Tobit. While the gall was used adjunctively with the liver in TSol it was used separately in Tobit for another curative purpose viz., the curing of a blind man. Secondly, the fumigating or smoking technique used in effecting the potent properties of the fish organs appears in both documents, and in both cases the object of the fumigation is Asmodeus. Moreover, in the TSol the gall and the liver of this fish must be smoked along with the branch of a plant and as it happens to be it is the emanating smell that contains the thwarting property.

The name Raphael does not only appear for the first time in chapter 5 of the TSol but in other passages. In TSol 13:6 he thwarts the Medusa-like Obyzouth and imprisons Oropel in TSol 18: 8. Although the role of Raphael as a thwarting angel is highlighted in the TSol, his status is somewhat reduced. Role reversal between Raphael and Asmodeus is noted when the role of these characters in the TSol and Tobit are compared. Raphael is not active in TSol as he is in Tobit. In fact, he is a passive character in TSol 5. He is only a means to an end, viz., the thwarting of Asmodeus. In Tobit Raphael not only reveals instructions about thwarting Asmodeus but he later bound the demon. While Asmodeus took a rather passive role in Tobit, in the TSol he is

more active. All the information about the thwarting angel, the function of the liver and gall were all revealed to Solomon by Asmodeus not Raphael. We are also told that Asmodeus can tell the fate of Solomon's kingdom (TSol 5:5, 13 cf. TSol 15:8). The revelation of knowledge by demons is quite consistent with the character of the TSol.

In Tobit, Asmodeus is thwarted by two procedures: he was firstly repelled by the smell that comes from the smoked liver and heart of a large fish after which he is bound (hand and foot) by Raphael (Tob 8:3). The latter parallels the binding of Asmodeus in the TSol.

> (11) And I said to him, "Is there not something else about you, Asmodeus?" And he said, "the power of God who binds me with indissoluble bonds by his seal knows what I said is true. But I beg you, King Solomon do not condemn me to water." (12) But I king Solomon smiled and said " as the Lord, the God of my fathers lives you will have iron to wear and you shall make clay for the entire construction of the Temple,[54] treading out the supply for the (entire temple) compound."[55] Then I ordered ten water jars to be made available and to be piled upon him and he groaned deeply, the demon accomplished these things which he had been commanded. But Asmodeus did this since he had knowledge of the future. (bd-b)

In the passage above it is not Raphael who binds Asmodeus as in Tobit but Solomon through the power of God. The binding activity is also implied by reference to Asmodeus wearing irons (σίδηρα ἔχεις φορέσαι).[56] Furthermore, the TSol utilises two terms pertaining to the binding (δεσμευώ)

[54] Contra Duling's reading "you shall mo[u]ld clay for all the vessels for the Temple." See Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 41. I myself do not see how Duling's reading will make sense when all the demons who were relegated duties by Solomon had to do with the construction of the Temple. As noted by Jackson σκευή is used as equivalent to κατασκευή attested by MS P. Jackson has suggested that we translate πηλόν as some kind of mortar yet he agrees this is anachronistic! I do not see any harm done to the passage by leaving it as clay as long as the purpose is not for the "making vessels" but rather for "the entire construction" of the Temple.

[55] Contra Duling's "eliminating the cost of the mo[u]ld." The word χορηγίαν could also refer to "supply." It does make sense when used in this context with ἀνατρίβων.

[5:6,11] and untying (λύων) of Asmodeus. It seems that these terms correspond to λῦσαι and δῆσαι used of Asmodeus in Tobit. However, the manner in which λύσαι is used in Tobit (G^{II}) does not correspond to the use of λύων in the TSol. The former is used for severing the relationship between Asmodeus and Sarah.

Preliminary Conclusions

It is obvious that the TSol has elements that are also present in Tobit. The main parallels are conceptual, and they appear in terms of ideas, themes and motifs. Some of my observations from the foregoing are as follows: (1) Both documents attest to angelic intervention against demonic forces. (2) The TSol and Tobit attest to exactly the same protagonists with very similar roles although Asmodeus in the TSol seems to have a slightly exaggerated role when compared to Asmodeus in Tobit. Raphael, the main character in Tobit, assumes a passive role in the TSol. This phenomenon of role reversal in terms of passive and active roles may be partly due to the nature of the TSol since demons in this work always assume an active role. As I have intimated angels in the latter usually assume passive roles. Moreover, there are aspects of Asmodeus such as his origin, his activity in spreading madness about women through the stars and his foreknowledge which is not found in Tobit. This may indicative of the existence of other sources at disposal to the author of the TSol. (3) Furthermore, both documents attest to the significance of angels as means through which evil demons can be incapacitated or the cure of diseases effected. The significance of this is demonstrated in Raphael's

[56] Cf. 1:13 and 2:5; Duling intimates that the mention of demons wearing irons suggests the

role in both the TSol and Tobit. His function in connection with the thwarting of Asmodeus is shared by both documents. However, the details of Raphael's role in the thwarting procedure as outlined in Tobit is absent in the TSol. Raphael is the one who binds the demon in Tobit but in the TSol it was Solomon who did the binding. The TSol notifies us that Asmodeus may be thwarted either by Raphael or the smoking liver and gall. (4) The praxis in the thwarting of Asmodeus is much the same in both documents. The apotropaic properties of fish organs and technique in appropriating these properties are common elements in the TSol and Tobit. As regarding the recipes for fumigation there are minor variations which may reflect the milieu of the respective authors. For example, the heart which features in Tobit is replaced by the gall of a fish in the TSol. In Tobit, fumigation has to be done first followed by the binding act. In the TSol both activities are not mutually exclusive of each other. Tobit has employed two technical terms utilised for incapacitating demon which also occur in the TSol but only one of them is used in the same way in both documents. (5) Both describe Asmodeus as the evil demon. While Tobit pinpoints Asmodeus' schemes as directed towards the bridal chamber, the author of the TSol appears to have universalised Asmodeus' activities: It is not Sarah or Tobias who has a problem but all "virgins," and Asmodeus' plots are against all "newlyweds." The author intends to present to his readers a comprehensive medico-magical encyclopaedia. Egypt plays an important role in Tobit, unlike the TSol where the demon was within Solomon's reach for the Temple work.

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binding. See "Testament of Solomon," OTP 1:967, note 5p.

Some of these similarities do point to specific points of contact between the two documents. I would like to propose that the TSol knew the tradition or story where Raphael is pitted against Asmodeus as presented in Tobit. The author of the TSol did not need to have the book of Tobit in front of him. It could have been aural knowledge through which popular stories travel. This is not impossible since the book of Tobit circulated among both Jews and Christians alike and the author could have known it. It is amazing how the author has adapted and developed his story.

Chapter 5

The Wisdom of Solomon and the TSol

Introduction

The Wisdom of Solomon is one of the two wisdom books in the LXX not found in the Hebrew Bible. Although no consensus has been reached for a date for its composition various scholars have placed it somewhere between 220 BCE and 50 CE. An Egyptian provenance, most probably Alexandrian[1] has been suggested, but this could either be Ptolemaic Egypt or Roman Egypt under Augustus (C. Larcher)[2] or Caligula (D. Winston), however, scholars have recently been inclined to place the work in Roman Egypt.[3] The Wisdom of Solomon is a Jewish work although strangely enough no Jewish writers of the first century ever mentioned or quoted it; instead early attestations are by Christians in the second century CE. It was read and expounded in church and its teaching commended.[4]

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[1] David Winston, "Solomon, Wisdom of," ABD 6:120-127. The Wisdom of Solomon (AB 43; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979), 1-69. See Winston for more on structure, original language, sources and genre of this book. The terminus a quo of 220 BCE is based on its dependence on the LXX, and the terminus ad quem of 50 CE since it appears that Paul and other NT writers might have been familiar with this book.

[2] See C. Larcher, Le Livre de la Sagesse, ou, La Sagesse de Salomon (Études Bibliques [Nouvelle Serie] 1,3 & 5; 3 vols; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1983-85).

[3] W. Horbury, "The Christian Use and the Jewish Origin of the Wisdom of Solomon," in Wisdom in Ancient Israel. Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton (ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182-85.

[4] This work owes its survival to Christianity. The church in the second and third centuries CE referred to the Wisdom of Solomon. It was normally grouped with other Solomonic books such as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. It was known in the East and West in the second century CE. Clement of Rome quoted it in the in the end of the first century (1 Clement 3:4 [Wis 2.24] and 27:5 [Wis 12:12]). Clement of Alexandria quotes Wisdom of Solomon freely in Stromata (Strom 2:2, 6; 6:14, 110; 6:15; 12:12). Eusebius records its use by Ireneus and Clement of Alexandria (Hist. eccl. 5.8, 6.13; PE 11.7; Paed 2:1, 7). Although this book was regarded non-canonical it was circulated amongst and used by Christians. See Horbury, "The Christian Use and the Jewish Origins," 182-96, and M. Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature" in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2,3; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 288.

The work, which is a combination of Jewish culture and Hellenistic philosophy, is based on certain biblical texts especially those connected with Solomon. The main protagonist in this work is wisdom. The Wisdom of Solomon can be divided into three parts: the description of wisdom's gift of immortality (1-6:21); the nature and power of wisdom, and Solomon's quest for her (6:22-10:21); and the divine nature of wisdom or justice in Exodus (11:19). The word "wisdom" occurs twenty-nine times in the first ten chapters of this book, where the concept is personified. The second section of this three-part book contains a panegyric on wisdom which gives the book its name.[5] Here we find the finest and most elevating description of wisdom. Solomon himself describes in the most sublime language the virtue of wisdom. I shall consider for my discussion the following passages: 7:15-22; 9:1-10,17-18; 10:6,15-19 and 14:6.

Chapters 6-9 have Solomon as their subject. Here we find an interpreted Solomon. The king is presented differently from the OT's depiction. The main emphasis of this section is not directly on Solomon but rather on wisdom and Solomon's quest for her. Lester L. Grabbe suggests that the Solomon in the Wisdom of Solomon is a figure at home in a Hellenistic world. "He is presented as both the ideal king and the ideal sage."[6] Although the images of Solomon are drawn from Israelite wisdom tradition there is evidence that much is coming from Hellenism.[7] The emphasis on σοφία and its connection with Solomon is significant. The king's recognition (7:1-6) of his common

[5] See S. H. Holmes' introductory comments, "The Wisdom of Solomon," APOT 1:518-568; Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon, 10-12.
[6] Lester L. Grabbe, Wisdom of Solomon (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 44, 63-64.

humanity with his subjects is a general phenomenon in the Hellenistic culture since Hellenistic philosophers often admonished their rulers on avoiding pride.[8] P. W. Skehan argues that Wisdom of Solomon 1-9 depends on Proverbs 1-4 and 8-9 for thought, mode of approach and general pattern of development.[9]

Solomon's Knowledge and the Listenwissenschaft

A closer look at chapters 7-9 of the Wisdom of Solomon reveals that they are inspired by an older tradition, viz., the biblical tradition about Solomon the wise king. The underpinning OT texts here may be 1 Kgs 3:14-15, 5:9-14 and 2 Chr 1. The author does not speak of Solomon's literary activity yet he clearly tells us of his specialised knowledge. Wis 7:7-8 describes the author's petition for wisdom which is reminiscent of King Solomon's prayer for wisdom and an understanding mind in the dream in Gibeon we encountered in 1 Kgs 3:6-15 and 8:12-53. Moreover, the cosmogonic role of wisdom as presented in the following passages does have its origin in Proverbs 8:

> (7) Therefore I prayed, and understanding was given me; I called on God, and the spirit of wisdom (πνεῦμα σοφίας) came to me. (8) I preferred her to sceptres and thrones, and I accounted wealth as nothing in comparison with her. . . (NRSV)

Later on in chapter 7 (especially vv. 17-22) we are given a very detailed description of what God's wisdom entails as demonstrated in Solomon's knowledge:

> (15) May God grant me to speak with judgement and to have thoughts worthy of what I have received; for he is the guide even of wisdom and the corrector of the wise. (16) For both we and our words are in his

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 64.
[9] P. W. Skehan, Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom (CBQMS1; Washington, USA: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1971), 174-75.

hand, as all understanding and skill in crafts. (17) For it is he who gave me unerring knowledge of what exists, to know the structure of the world and the activity of the elements (ἐνεργείαν στοιχείων); (18) and the beginning and end and middle of times, the alternations of the solstices and the changes of the seasons, (19) the cycles of the year and the constellations of the stars, (20) the natures of animals and the temper of wild beasts, the powers of spirits (πνευμάτων βίας)[10] and the reasonings of men (διαλογισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων); the varieties of plants and the virtues of roots (δυνάμεις ῥιζῶν). (21) I have learned both what is secret and what is manifest, (22) for wisdom, the fashioner of all things (ἡ παντων τεχνῖτις), taught me. (NRSV)

The passage contains a gamut of disciplines including philosophy, psychology, cosmology, astronomy, botany, zoology, chronology, pharmacology and esoteric knowledge. Solomon is depicted here as a philosopher, scientist[11]and herbalist. This passage may have been modelled after Prov 8:27-31[12] in its depiction of wisdom; however, its elaboration of the types of knowledge from wisdom seems to indicate that the author may have had another passage in mind, most probably 3 Kgdms 5:9-14.

While the grandiose depiction of wisdom in Proverbs 8 may have influenced wisdom's portrayal in Wisdom of Solomon, in Wisdom 7 she appears to occupy a position uniquely different from what we have in either LXX Proverbs 8 or Ben Sira (Sirach) 24. She is here independent and active; the craftsman or fashioner of all things.[13] The Wisdom of Solomon passage further informs us that with the gift from God Solomon received unerring knowledge of the world, the heavenly bodies, spirits, plants and animals. It has been suggested

[10] An alternative and preferable translation could be "violences/ forces of spirits." The Greek word βία is used to denote a "malevolent" force not just any power. The word "powers" as it stands in some English translation does not fully convey the nature of the power.
[11] Larcher, Le Livre de la Sagesse, 2.467-79.
[12] Despite the differences between MT and LXX on syntax, semantics and style both emphasises wisdom as part of God's creation. See Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 227-238. This unit is said to be "syntactically the closest knit" and the most remarkable section of Prov 8. There are also parallels with Sir 24. See Skehan, "Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Prov 8 and Sir 24," CBQ 41(1979): 365-79.

that the author's interest in Listenwissenschaft (science list) and encyclopaedic learning in the passage above is characteristic of the wisdom literature of the ancient Near East.[14]

Is the catalogue of knowledge granted to Solomon as presented in this passage consonant with the encyclopaedic knowledge in 3 Kgdms 5:13-14, and is this knowledge in Wis 7:17-22 merely scientific? Scholars are divided on the interpretation of the latter passage. Michael E. Stone has asserted, making particular reference to Wis 7:11-21, that the list includes medicine, magic, demonology and the control of nature and man[15] while Torijano pinpoints the magical and astrological elements of Wis 7:17-21 from a Hermetic perspective.[16]

P. Kingsley in his work on Empedocles,[17] a fifth century BCE Presocratic philosopher who lived in Sicily, arrived at some pertinent conclusions that may aid in our understanding of the aforementioned Listenwissenschaft. He has commented on the false dichotomy between philosophy dealing with the theoretical aspects of the working of the universe from the practical application of this knowledge as demonstrated in magic. This posture has certainly influenced those who have attempted to decipher Wis 7:17-22.

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[13] Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 239. See also Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature," 310-11.
[14] Grabbe, Wisdom of Solomon, 65.
[15] Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature," in Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God (ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke and P. D. Miller Jr.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414-52; especially 437. A.-J. Festugière interprets this passage in a magical sense. See Festugière, La Revelation d'Hermes et Trismégiste. I. L'Astrolgie et les Sciences Occultes (Paris: Lecroffre, 1950), 41, and also note 3. See McCown, "The Christian Tradition," 2-3.
[16] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 95-105.

Kingsley adds that the mere knowledge of the workings of the universe does not become significant until it is put into practical application—an attempt to control one's world. And such practical application may have significance in the sphere of healing. The role of magic therefore was to accumulate knowledge and information about the workings of the world and to be able to utilise this information in controlling one's world. In other words, we cannot separate the two. Marcel Mauss saliently adds:

> Magic is linked to science in the same way as it is linked to technology. It is not only a practical art, it is also a store house of ideas. It attaches great importance to knowledge—one of its mainsprings. In fact, we have seen over and over again how, as far as magic is concerned, knowledge is power. But while religion, because of its intellectual character, has a tendency towards metaphysics, magic— is concerned with understanding nature. It quickly set up a kind of index of plants, metals, phenomena, beings and life in general, and became an early store of information for the astronomical, physical, natural sciences. It is a fact that certain branches of magic such as astrology and alchemy were called applied physics in Greece. That is why magicians received the name φύσικοι and the word φυσικός was a synonym for magic.[18]

Perhaps the Listenwissenschaft should be understood not as a science list in the strict sense of our modern day understanding but rather in the context of the Hellenised milieu when magic and science were once linked.

In v. 17 the three disciplines with which Solomon was acquainted are (i) the knowledge of what exists; (ii) the structure of the world; and (iii) the activity of the elements (stoicheia). In the Hermetic writings[19] of Hellenistic mystical

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[17] P. Kingsley, Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). I find Kingsley's chapter on "magus" very instructive, see 217-32.

[18] Marcel Mauss, A General Theory of Magic (trans. by R. Brain; London/Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972), 143.

[19] This is a corpus of theological and philosophical texts written in Late Antiquity between the second and fifth centuries CE often associated with the mythical figure, Hermes Trismegistus, who was identified with his Egyptian counterpart Thoth and a contemporary of Moses. Brian P. Copenhaver suggests that some of the writings go back to about 200 BCE. These texts could be divided into astrology, magic and alchemy. See J. A. Trumbower, "Hermes

speculation, where features of spirits and gods exist, and the elements are combined with astrology and the like, cosmogony and cosmology are not strictly scientific.[20] Earlier I suggest in my discussion of the LXX of 1 Kings our author might have reinterpreted 3 Kgdms 5:13-14 allegorically within the framework of the Hellenised milieu. Against such a background, as Torijano argues, the author has allegorically interpreted four categories of animals in 3 Kgms 5:13: κτηνῶν (beasts), πετεινῶν (fowls/birds), ἑρπετῶν (creeping things/reptiles) and ἰχθύων (fish) to represent the four elements: earth, air, fire and water respectively.[21] It is instructive that Torijano argues from evidence in Hermetic writings.

The activities of the stoicheia mentioned in the third discipline appear in chapters 8 and 18 of the TSol. In the TSol the stoicheia unequivocally associates the demonic forces with astrological content. The stoicheia seem to have undergone a demonological transformation in the TSol. In chapter 8 the "seven sprits" appeared before King Solomon and described themselves as the στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους who are connected with stars in heaven (τὰ ἄστρα ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ). Integral to the structure of the TSol

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Trismegistos" in ABD 3:156-57; Brian P. Copenhaver, Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation with Notes and Introduction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), xxxii-xlv. See also G. Fowden, The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13-44; 79-94.

[20] See Copenhaver's English translation, Corpus Hermeticum, 3. 1-4; 5.3-5; 10 (four categories of creatures); 12. 19-22; 13.11-12; A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, Corpus Hermeticum (4 vols; Paris: Société d'edition "Les Belles lettres", 1945-54), 2.298; 3. 24, 35.

[21] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 95-105. In "Les Koiranides" in La Revelation d'Hermes et Trismégiste; the air and land animals and the fish were said to correspond to the hierarchy of the elements: air, land and water. In Stobaei Hermitica Excerptum XXIII (Kore Kosmou) 42 a similar allegorical interpretation could be found and this time "reptiles" are included. See Festugière, La Revelation d'Hermes et Trismégiste, 208.

these spirits were interrogated (ἐπηρώτησα)[22] by Solomon in order to reveal to Solomon their names, activities, residence/astrological location, and thwarting agent. In chapter 18 we read of another group of demonic force: the thirty-six heavenly bodies (τὰ τριάκοντα ἓξ στοιχεῖα) who replied to Solomon's question about their identity with one voice (ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ).[23] They too are not only referred to as the στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους but they also have astrological dimension.

While the three categories of knowledge are focussed on chronology in v. 18 (the beginning and the middle of times; alternations of the solstices; and changes in seasons), verse 19 deals with astronomy (the cycles of the year and constellations of the stars). We find six categories of knowledge in verse 20 which are: (i) the nature of animals; (ii) the tempers of wild animals; (iii) violences of spirits (πνευμάτων βίας); (iv) the reasonings of human beings (διαλογισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων); (v) the varieties of plants; and (vi) the powers of roots (δυνάμεις ῥιζῶν). The nature of animals and temper of wild animals is reminiscent of 1 Kgs 4: 33b (Evv) where Solomon is said to have spoken of animals (κτήνη). I shall now focus on three of these categories: the "violences of spirits," the "powers of roots" and the "reasonings of human beings."

[22] The word is from the Greek ἐπερωτάω meaning to "inquire" in order to obtain information. This word is used at least 12 times in the TSol (3:6, 4:1; 5:2; 6:1; 6:10; 7:7; 8:2; 11:4; 12:2; 17:1; 18:2; 22: 19) to describe Solomon's confrontation with the demons.
[23] The same word ὁμοθυμαδὸν is used to describe the praise of the righteous "with one accord" in Wis 10:20.

I. The violences of spirits (πνευμάτων βίας)

The somewhat enigmatic expression πνευμάτων βίας has puzzled several scholars. Some have understood it as a reference to Solomon's knowledge about meteorology. Gregg suggests that there is very little doubt that the English reading "violences of winds" and the Latin (vim ventorum) is right.[24] Holmes, nonetheless, dismisses any connection with meteorology and intimates that this could be a reference to demonology. His argument hinges on external evidence from Josephus' testimony about Solomon's power over demons.[25] Of course, a strong argument can be made if we try to understand the expression in the light of Josephus' comment in Ant. 8.42-49 relating Solomon's knowledge of exorcism. John Geyer concurs to this line of argument in his introductory comment on 7:15-22. He remarks that wisdom in this context is not confined to religious faith but encompasses the whole created order of the universe of which demonology is part.[26]

David Winston[27] who has in his English translation, "the violent force of spirits" argues that the expression could either mean "the violent force of winds" or "of spirits." Winston intimates that the latter meaning may be intended here considering the structure and context of the verse. I do agree with Winston here. To add to his conclusion, I may point out that the use of the word βία elsewhere in Wisdom of Solomon indicates that the expression πνευμάτων βίας in 7:20 is intended to mean more than meteorology as some have led us to believe. In Wis 4:4 the author uses the same word to describe

[24] J. A. Gregg, The Wisdom of Solomon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 20.
[25] Holmes, "The Wisdom of Solomon," 546.
[26] John Geyer, The Wisdom of Solomon (London: SCM Press, 1963), 83.
[27] Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon, 175- 6.

a natural phenomenon, viz., the violent force of nature since the word that follows βίας is ἀνέμων. If the author had intended to refer to the violence force of nature or was speaking strictly in meteorological terms he could very well have used a similar expression in Wis 7:20. Outside Wisdom of Solomon the word is often used followed by words like ἀνέμων or ὑδατος when referring to violent natural forces.[28]

Furthermore, besides wind, πνευμάτα could mean spiritual or an independent noncorporeal being such angels or demons.[29] In Jewish and Christian texts the link between spirit and angels is clearly evident.[30] Winston has attempted to show the link between wind, spirits and angels in other texts in an attempt to help us to understand the meaning of πνευμάτων in Wis 7:21. His examples however are restricted either to the Hebrew word רוח or texts mainly from 1 Enoch. [31] The word "spirit(s)" is understood as wind and vice versa in certain texts. In Ps 103:4 (LXX) where רוח is translated by πνεύματα spirits and angels are connected. [32] In 2 Macc 3:24 the angelic hosts are depicted as spirits (παρόντος ὁ τῶν πευμάτων). In the NT (cf. Matt 8:16, 12:43 Mark

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[28] Danker, Frederick, W., ed. A Greek- English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature (3d ed.; based on Walter Bauer's Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Nuen Testaments Früchristlichen Literatur (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000),175.

[29] See "πνεῦμα," LSJ 2:1424. H. Kleinknecht, E. Schweizer, F. Baumgärtel, W. Beider, and E. Sjöberg,"πνεῦμα,. . . θεόπνευστος," TDNT 6:332-455.

[30] See Charles A. Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence (AGJU 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 114-119. See also 1 QH[a] col ix lines 10-12; 1 En 60:12-22; 41:3ff; 18:1-5; and 76:1-12; Sir 39:28 the spirits were agent of destruction; the angels are spirits of the winds in Jub 2:2.

[31] Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon, 175-76.

[32] ὁ ποῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτου πνεύματα (עשֶׂה מַלְאָכָיו רוּחוֹת).The verb עשֶׂה with two accusatives usually means A can be derive from B and vice versa. The LXX rendering of this verse can also be found in Heb 1:7. For more discussion on the LXX and Heb 1:7 see Leslie C. Allen, Psalm 101-150 (WBC 21; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983), 26.

1;23-26; 3:30; 5:2, 8, 13; 7:25; 9:25; Luke 8:29; 9:42; 11:24; Rev 18:2) the demonic spirits are clearly identified by this term.[33]

The TSol

There are a number of conceptual parallels in the form of motifs and ideas between the Wisdom of Solomon passages already analysed and the TSol. For instance, a closer look at a letter addressed to Solomon by King Adarkes in Chapter 22 reveals three ideas. An excerpt of this letter reads:

> (1) . . . I have heard about the wisdom which has been granted to you and that, being a man from the Lord, there has been given to you understanding about all the spirits (πνευμάτων) of the air, the earth, and beneath the earth. (2) There still exists a spirit (πνεῦμα) in Arabia. Early in the morning a fresh gust of wind blows until the third hour. Its terrible blast (πνοή)[34] even kills man and beast and no (counter-) blast is ever able to with stand the demon (δαίμονος). (3) I beg you, therefore, since the spirit is like a wind, do something wise according to the wisdom which has been given to you by the Lord your God and decide to send out a man who is able to bring it under control." (22:1-3)

The first is the link between wisdom and Solomon's understanding of all spirits. The second is the close association between wind and demon, and the third is the violent nature of the demonic force. Firstly, the main thrust of the passage is the link between wisdom and Solomon's understanding of the three categories of spirits: spirits of the air (ἀερίων), of the earth (ἐπιγείων) and the spirits the subterranean regions (καταχθονίων). In the title of MSS P and Q we read "Testament of Solomon, son of David who reigned in

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[33] Not all the NT references are mentioned here. In Palestinian Judaism רוח is clearly identified as a demonic force. See Kleinknecht et al., TDNT 6:332-455. Cf. 1 En. 15:4,6, 10; 106:13-17; and Danker, A Greek- English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature, 832-36. For references outside the NT see T.Benj. 5:2; T.Sim. 4:9; 6:6; 16:1. T. Job 27:2; PGM 13.798; 36.160.

[34] Duling has translated πνοή as blast referring to a strong wind. Jackson has commended Duling's translation of this passage. See Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 56-57.

Jerusalem, and subdued and controlled[35] (ἐκράτησεν καὶ ὑπέταξεν) all spirits of the air, the earth and under the earth. This note appears again in 18:3-4 and 22:1 where it is stated that Solomon had understanding (σύνεσις) of all spirits of the air, the earth and under the earth. Wisdom (σοφία) is connected with Solomon's power over spirits. The Wisdom of Solomon may have allegorically reinterpreted 3 Kgdms 5:13 about Solomon's knowledge to speak of various kinds of animals to represent the stoicheia but this may also indicate Solomon's comprehensive knowledge over the animal kingdom. This notion of Solomon's understanding (σύνεσις) of the spirit world demonstrated in his power over the demons as evidence of Solomon's wisdom (σοφία) is at least intimated in the TSol.

Secondly, in the aforementioned passage the spirit is likened to a wind (ἄνεμός ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα). It is clear that the TSol considers the demons as spirits.[36] In 1:2 (MS L) Ornias is the evil spirit (τὸ πονεηρὸν πνεῦμα), and in 2:5 (MS L) as an unclean spirit. In 4:4 Onoskelis is a spirit which has been transformed into a body. The stoicheia in chapter 8 and 18 are regarded as spirits (8:1 and 18: 4). We also read of the dust demon, Lix Tetrax in TSol 7 who was again subjugated by Solomon.

Thirdly, the malevolent activity of the demon in this passage is described as the "killing of both man and beast." In connection to my earlier comment about the demons being spirits in the TSol, the use of the Greek βίας in Wisdom of

[35] This word is missing in Duling's translation.

Solomon for the spirits which we find passim in the TSol accentuates their evil nature. The whole purpose for writing the TSol was first and foremost to reveal the harmful activities of the demons, viz., "the powers of the demons" (τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν δαιμόνων). This is made clear in Solomon's first rationale for writing the TSol when he says:

> . . . . I wrote the testament to the sons of Israel and I gave (it) to them so that (they) might know the powers of the demons . . . (15:14)

Incidentally, the TSol also uses the word βίας three times and each usage is connected with demonic forces. In the first occurrence in chapter 3 the word is used to describe the manner in which Beelzeboul was brought to Solomon (3:4). Is this a coincidence that in this very pericope we have an allusion or an echo of Wis 9:4? The second occurrence is connected with how demons are destroyed (20:13 MS P), and the third is associated with the capturing of the wind demon in 22:11.

II. The Powers of Roots (δυνάμεις ῥιζῶν)

As the biblical text indicates Solomon's knowledge was not restricted solely to the animal kingdom. While in 1 Kgs 4:33 (Evv) Solomon is described as one who knew about trees, in the Wisdom of Solomon he had the knowledge of the "powers of roots." John M. Hull referring to Wisdom of Solomon 7 has this to say of Solomon:

> The one who through his insight and divinely granted revelation perceives the nature of the mystic bonds which tie everything from lofty stars down to earthbound roots in one throbbing unity, he is at once saint, seer, philosopher, and magus."[37]

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[36] 7:1 (MS P, Recension C); 9:5, 7(MS P); 11:1; 12:2; 13:3 (MS P); 14:2, 4, 6, 7; 15:1, 11, 15; 16: 1, 5; 17: 1, 4(MS L), 5(MS P); passim 22; 10:15,16, 17, 18 (MS C); 3: 1; 4:12,13; 6:4, 12: 7:3 (D), and Duling's 3:6 = McCown's 3:7.

[37] Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition, 34.

Hull has linked knowledge concerning roots with the other aspects such as astrology. This connection is even clearer in the TSol where names of specific plants are believed to have apotropaic properties. The power of various plants was demonstrated in their potential as thwarting agents against specific demons. For example, in TSol 1:3 (Recension C) the function of ivy with a healing stone against demons was revealed to Solomon by God. In 5:13 a fragment of white storax[38] was used as thwarting agent for Asmodeus. In 6:10 we have a whole list of flora and their products: oil of myrrh[39], frankincense[40], bulbs of the sea, spikenard[41] and saffron,[42] which were prescribed for the protection of someone's house. In chapter 18 plants could thwart some of the decans: the eleventh decan could be thwarted by writing on laurel leaves soaked in water; the sixteenth decan by pulverised coriander, and the twenty-third decan by writing on ivy leaves. In Korē Kosmou (41-42) genuine root cutters,[43] philosophers and "just kings" are amongst the list of the highest and noblest human incarnations.

III. The reasonings of human beings (διαλογισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων)

In the biblical story an aspect of Solomon's understanding is illustrated in the narrative of "the two harlots" (3:16-28 =Evv).[44] The narrative is prefaced by

[38] μετὰ κλάσματος στύρακος λευκοῦ. I prefer the translation "fragment of white storax." The plant storax is a many-branched, small tree with rounded shiny leaves which is silvery white on the underside. The resin of the old trees had medicinal properties. See I. Jacob & W. Jacob, "flora," ABD 2: 803-817.
[39] A shrub; it appears also in Cant 1:13, 4:14 in connection with Solomon.
[40] Boswellia sacra, another shrub which is an ingredient of incense. Cf. Cant 4:14.
[41] A small perennial herb appears in Cant 1:13, 4:14 in association with Solomon.
[42] Crocus sativa is a plant from which an aromatic golden dye is produced from its stigma which has some medicinal use (cf. Cant 4:14).
[43] They are herbalists or magical healers.
[44] Joseph Reider, The Book of Wisdom: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 113. Reider has suggested that what is

Solomon's request for an understanding mind and the ability to discern between good and evil. The point of the story is to show that God's wisdom was with Solomon. As integral to the wisdom motif, it illustrates Solomon's ability to understand man's reasoning due to his judicial acumen. Although the author of the Wisdom of Solomon did not go into the details of this aspect of Solomon's knowledge we can see where he is coming from.

The TSol

Similarly, in the TSol we find a story in chapter 20 that might have been partially modelled on the narrative in 1 Kgs 3:16-28 (Evv). The TSol's narrative is about a conflict between one of Solomon's artisans and his son. Solomon demonstrated that he was wise because he was not hasty to pass judgement on either father or son but instead make allowance for reconciliation between father and son perhaps recognising that both were wrong. The intriguing dialogue between Ornias and Solomon subsequent to the arbitration between the old man and his son reveals the workings of the mind of the old man. The demon Ornias revealed the old man's evil intention encapsulated in Ornias' remarks when Solomon questioned him: (7). . . . See, the old man has the intent of doing away with him (his son) in an evil manner. (8) I said, "Does he really have such intent?" the demon said, "Yes, King." Solomon's source of knowledge of what is to happen is based on Ornias' prescience. This is consonant with the character of the TSol since the demons were the primary source of Solomon's knowledge.

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implied here is "calculations and judgements necessary to decide perplexing cases such as described in 1 Kgs 3:16ff and 10:1ff."

Earlier in 6:22, although Solomon is not explicitly identified, he is described as the teacher of esoteric knowledge. But in 7:21-22 as the catalogue of knowledge comes to an end Solomon explicitly states in v. 21 that he (Solomon) learned about both hidden and manifest things. Similarly, in the TSol Solomon had an insight into the workings of the spirits hidden from mankind but revealed to him by the demons and spirits hence the reason for writing the TSol.

Wisdom of Solomon: The Concept of Wisdom

I now shall discuss some ideas about wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon that may have parallels in the TSol. In 7:22 Solomon was taught by wisdom the fashioner (τεχνῖτις)[45] of all things. Not only is the author drawing from Proverbs 8 as I have already intimated but he is also alluding to the wisdom of God (φρόνεσιν θεοῦ)[46] in 1 Kgs 3:28. The application of wisdom by the title τεχνῖτις is significant in the author's thinking as he intends to emphasise the role of wisdom and not necessarily its relation with God as depicted in Prov 8:30a. The term also appears in Wis 14:22. In Wis 8:4 wisdom is an associate in his (God) works, in Wis 9:2 she is the one by whom God formed man, in Wis 8:1-2 her influence is far reaching affecting all things. In Prov 8:30 wisdom speaks of herself as God's companion his "architect" or "master workman" (אָמוֹן).[47] Johann Cook has pointed out that the participle ἁρμόζουσα in the LXX for the Hebrew אָמוֹן in Prov 8 :30a does not ascribe a particularly

[45] Τεχνῖτις cf. Wis 8:6 (MSS B and S but MS A has - ἴτης) 13:1 and 14:2. See Hatch and Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament ,1347. The word could also be translated as "artisan," "artificer," or "craftsman."
[46] חכמה אלוהים
[47] The Hebrew lexeme is a difficult one. It appears only once elsewhere in the OT (Jer 52:15).

active role to wisdom but rather stresses wisdom's relationship to the creator.[48] Her role is even more pronounced in Wis 7:22 where she assumes an active part and appears to be God's chief servant in carrying out God's work. She is depicted as an agent of God's creation. The language of divine agency is reminiscent of an attribute of God.[49] Skehan may have a point that the author of the Wisdom of Solomon must have been familiar with the Hebrew text of Prov 8:30a (וָאֶהְיֶה אֶצְלוֹ אָמוֹן) since he did not use the LXX rendering ἁρμόζουσα for the Hebrew אמון; instead he understood the word in the light of אָמָן (ʾommān)[50] in the same sense as in Cant 7:2 where the latter is rendered τεχνίτης in the LXX to describe the work of a skilful craftsman.[51] But it could also mean that he had a non-LXX Greek translation that had already translated the word differently. Even though our author might have known the Hebrew text of Prov 8 he has drawn extensively from the LXX. Incidentally, the TSol used a similar term "τεχνιται" to describe the artisans (cf. 1:1, 3, 7:8, 10:8; 20:1; and 22:8) who helped in the building of the Temple. Later on in Wis 9 we shall see how wisdom is presented as one seated by God's throne (9: 4 & 10).

Towards the end of chapter 7 she is portrayed both as a product of God and a manifestation of him.[52]

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[48] Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 234.
[49] See Larry Hurtado, One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monothesim (2d ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 44.
[50] This is an Assyrian loan-word ummânu meaning "artisan."
[51] Skehan, Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom, 176. See also W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach (London: SCM Press, 1970), 357. Although the term is never used of God in the OT Philo uses the same term to apply to God in Deus 30; Opif. 20; 135; Cher. 32, 128; Plant. 31; Leg. 3.99; 10:2.
[52] Grabbe, Wisdom of Solomon, 78.

> For she is the breath [53]of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty; therefore nothing defiled gains entrance into her. For she is a reflection of the eternal light a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness. (vv. 25-26)

The theme of wisdom personified continues into chapter 9.

> (2) and by your wisdom have formed humankind, to have dominion over the creatures you have made, (3) and rule the world in holiness and righteousness, and pronounce judgement in uprightness of soul, (4) give me the wisdom that sits by your throne (δός μοι τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον[54] σοφίαν), and do not reject me from among your servants. (5) For I am a your servant the son of your serving girl, a man who is weak and short-lived with little understanding of judgement and laws; (6) for even one who is perfect among human beings will be regarded as nothing that comes from you. (7)You have chosen me to be king of your people and to be judge over your sons and daughters. (8) You have given command to build a temple on your holy mountain, . . . (9) With you is wisdom and works and was present when you made the world; she understands what is pleasing in your sight and what is right according to your commandments. (10) Send her forth from the holy heavens and from the throne of your glory send her, that she may labour at my side, and that I may learn what is pleasing to you. (17) Who has learned your counsel, unless you have given wisdom and sent your holy spirit from on high? (18) And thus the paths of those on earth were set right, and people were taught what pleases you, and were saved by wisdom." (NRSV)

A petition by the king for wisdom to rule because of his realisation of his own inadequacy (9: 4, 10, 17) appears again. As we can see from the underlined phrases of the passage above the author presents his own version of Solomon's prayer for wisdom reminiscent of 1 Kgs 3: 6-9 (Evv) and 2 Chr 1: 8-10 (Evv). There are also allusions to the tradition that Solomon built the Temple at Jerusalem, and the reference to the king's judgement (vv. 5-7).

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[53] The word ἀτμὶς (ἀτμή) could be correctly translated as "moist vapour," "steam" or "cloud." Cf. Lev (LXX) 16:13. Philo uses the same word in his interpretation of Exod 19:18 in Her. 251, cf. Sir 24.3. See also Murphy, "The Personification of Wisdom" in Wisdom in Ancient Israel, 222-33.

[54] The word πάρεδρος occurs also in Wis 6:14. The term is also used in magic to describe an assistant divinity, familiar spirit or things giving magical aid. See Pmag. Berolol.1..54; Pmag.

In this passage wisdom is not only presented as an hypostatised aspect of God but also connected with the throne of God (see 9:4, 10); she shares the throne with God.[55] The wisdom motif is again influenced by Proverbs 8:27 (LXX). When he made the heavens I was a partner with him, and when he separated his throne on the wind. When one compares the LXX with the MT we will notice that the word "throne" occurs only in the Greek text.[56] This privileged position is described in the Hebrew text by the preposition אֵצְלוֹ ("beside him"/ "by him") in Prov 8:30a. Her position although not so evident in the Hebrew text is clearly stressed in the LXX in order to underline her superior position which may be a reflection of her status in Judaism of the day vis a vis other cultural systems.[57]

The TSol

There are verbal parallels in the form of allusion or echo and use of similar technical terminology between Wisdom of Solomon and the TSol. A similar phrase "wisdom that sits by thy throne" (τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν)[58] appears in TSol 3:5. What does this phrase denote?[59] In the aforementioned phrase wisdom seems to have

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Lond.121.884 and Pmag.Par.1.1850; and LSJ 2:1332. In PGM 4.1347 the term is used to describe supernatural beings.

[55] On wisdom and the throne of God see Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 93-97. The notion of the throne and one sitting on it may go back to Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7.

[56] MT: בהכינו שמים שם אני חוג על-פני תהום
When he established the heavens, I was there, when he drew a circle on the face of the deep.
LXX:
ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζεν τὸν οὐρανόν συμπαρὴν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτε ἀφώριζεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον ἐπ ἀνέμων. When he made the heavens, I was a partner with him. And when he separated his throne on the wind.

[57] Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs, 246

[58] Winston has "throne-companion" according to his translation. See Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon, 202.

[59] Reider avers that this expression is biblical though expressed in pagan language (The Book of Wisdom,126-27). Cf. Prov 8:30.

acquired an independent existence. There are passages in Philo where similar ideas regarding wisdom are expressed.[60] I suppose this is an emphasis on the uniqueness of this particular wisdom that both authors of Wisdom of Solomon and Philo have in mind. The notion of the personification or hypostasis of wisdom is highlighted by Grabbe. He points out that wisdom is a hypostasis, in a sense that it is both a product of God and also a manifestation of him. Wisdom appears not only to represent God but she is in him; and the characteristics of wisdom are those we would also apply to God.[61]

A brief look at the TSol 3:5 will suffice at this point:

> When I saw the ruler of demons approaching, I glorified God and said, "Blessed are you, Lord God Almighty who has granted to your servant Solomon wisdom, the attendant of your thrones (τῶν σῶν θρόνων[62] πάρεδρον σοφίαν[63]), who has placed in subjection all the powers of the demons.

The underlined phrases seem to echo the language of Wisdom of Solomon 9. In the passage above Solomon refers to himself as a servant, a "παις",[64] similarly in certain Wisdom of Solomon passages Solomon identifies himself as one of God's servants (ἐκ παίδων σου) in 9:4 and in 9:5 (δοῦλος). The second underlined phrase, "wisdom, the attendant of your thrones," which has a counterpart in Wis 9:4 is an important verbal parallel to be considered. This striking feature of wisdom as found in our passage could be an allusion to 9:4 or the author could be drawing on stock phrases (an echo) regarding wisdom as an enthroned figure.

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[60] Ibid.; Philo: Mut. 194; Ios. 48; Mos. 2:53; Decal. 177; Spec. 4.20.
[61] Grabbe, Wisdom of Solomon, 78. Cf. 7:25-26.
[62] While MS L has τὸν σὸν θρόνον, MSP attests to τὴν τῶν σοφῶν πάρεδρον σοφίαν.
[63] MSP attests to σοφῶν as oppose to σοφίαν.

There is an attempt by both the TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon to stress the uniqueness of wisdom. The TSol makes an interesting connection between wisdom (the "throne companion" of God) and demonology as expressed in Solomon's power over demons. Wisdom is certainly the πάρεδρος here but what more as we read on in 3:6 (v. 7 in McCown's text) we notice something striking:

> Then I demanded that without interruption he (Beelzeboul) sit near me and explain to me concerning the appearances of the demons. Then he promised me to bring to me all the unclean spirits bound. . .[65] (bd-b)

Solomon then commanded Beelzeboul to sit by him in order that the chief of the demons might explain the manifestations of the other demons. Beelzeboul then responds by promising Solomon that he would bring to him all the unclean spirits bound. Could there be a connection between the statement about wisdom in 3:5 and what took place in verse 6? The author has not only recycled a familiar phrase but it appears that he has made a practical application of it. The leader of demons in the TSol is almost depicted as a πάρεδρος to Solomon, sitting close by him (προσεδρύειν) and willing to disclose (ἐμφανίζειν) to Solomon the appearances of other demons. It is noteworthy that πάρεδρος in the context of magic is often depicted as beings such as angels who are sometimes employed as helpers.

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[64] Literally "a child of God."

[65] ἀπήτουν δὲ τοῦτον ἀδιαλείπτως ἐγγύθεν μοι προσεδρεύειν καὶ ἐμφανίζειν μοι τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων φαντασίαν. αὐτὸς δέ μοι ἐπηγγείλατο πάντα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα ἀγαγεῖν πρός με δέσμια. Conybeare and others have "and all the demons have their chief seats close to me."

The notion of revelation by demons as I have pointed out, and will further be elucidated, is not out of character with the TSol because the demons are the primary purveyors of revelation and esoteric knowledge. Additionally, we see in chapter 6 (10ff) how Beelzeboul revealed esoteric knowledge to Solomon. It is obvious that both documents share the same concepts about wisdom personified who sits by the throne of God. It is this wisdom that Solomon prays to God for in the Wisdom of Solomon in order to be able judge his people. But wisdom in the TSol is intrinsically connected with esoteric knowledge of the workings of the demonic forces in conjunction with the ability to subjugate and control them.

Do the aforementioned verbal parallels suggest any form of dependence between the TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon? The use of technical terms does not suggest any form of literary borrowing of the TSol on Wisdom of Solomon since they are used differently. The most important of these parallels is the phrase: " wisdom, the attendant of your thrones." Since there is no indication that the author of the TSol signals his source the verbal parallel could not be a quotation, however, it is difficult to ascertain whether it is an allusion or an echo from Wisdom of Solomon. One must also bear in mind that the Wisdom of Solomon although was perceived as an "outside" book by the Church Fathers was well attested amongst Christians by the second century CE. I am inclined to think that the author of the TSol knew this work in some form. He does not necessarily have to have the Wisdom of Solomon in front of him; he could very well have known the phrase from a stock of phrases which had its origin from the Wisdom of Solomon.

It has already been noted that God's wisdom is linked with Solomon's power over demons. In TSol 26 we are informed that the spirit of God departed from Solomon and from that day on his words became idle talk. Another motif in Wisdom of Solomon 9 is the association between the Holy Spirit and wisdom but before I discuss this I would like for a moment to explore the relationship between the angel motif and wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon and the TSol.

It has rightly been pointed out that an angelomorphic tradition(s) lies behind the depiction of wisdom in her relationship to the divine throne in the Wisdom of Solomon. She is an enthroned angelomorphic figure as far as the Wisdom of Solomon is concerned.[66] Two motifs pertaining to wisdom's relationship with the throne are "wisdom sitting by the throne" (Wis 9:4), and "wisdom from the throne of glory" in Wis 9:10. We shall see in chapter 10 how wisdom is depicted as an angel. This appears to be based on the Pentateuchal "angel of the Lord" traditions. In the depiction of wisdom she takes the place of the activities of angels, the "angel of the Lord" or God himself.

Wisdom of Solomon

In order to illustrate my point I shall now quote relevant sections of Wisdom of Solomon 10:

> (6) Wisdom rescued a righteous man when the ungodly were perishing; he escaped the fire that descended on the Five Cities. (15) A Holy people and blameless race wisdom delivered from a nation of oppressors (16) She entered the soul of a servant of the Lord (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ψυχὴν θεράποντος κυρίου), and withstood dread kings with wonders and signs. (17) She gave to the holy people the reward of

[66] Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 93-97.

their labours; she guided them along a marvellous way, and became a shelter to them by day, and a starry flame through the night. (18) She brought them over the Red Sea, and led them through deep waters; (NRSV).

Two points are worth mentioning here. Firstly, wisdom is associated with the "angel of the Lord" traditions in the Pentateuch. It is very clear that chapter 10 is based on the exegesis of certain Pentateuchal narratives involving angels, the angel of the Lord or God himself. Verse 6, for example, is based on the story of Lot in Gen 19:1-23. While it is evident in the Genesis narrative that two angels rescued Lot. Wis 10:6 informs us that it was actually wisdom who rescued him. The allusion to the story of the Israelites journey out of Egypt to the promise land in vv. 17-19 (vide supra) is again based on the Pentateuchal narratives in Exodus. In Exod 13:21-22, 4:24 and 15:1-19 we read how God himself was the pillar of cloud/fire by day and night. The latter passage tells us about God's actions in destroying the Egyptian armies. What is interesting is how God's actions are being ascribed to the angel of the Lord in Exod 14:19. Similarly, it was the angel of Elohim who went before and behind Israel in Exod 23:20-21.[67] In Num 20:15 it was an angel who was sent to bring forth Israel out of Egypt. In Judg 2:1, the angel of the Lord spoke affirming that he was the one who brought their fathers out of Egypt. In the Wisdom of Solomon activities ascribed to God, an angel or the angel of the Lord are now attributed to wisdom. Also, the incidents about Jacob (see Gen 31:11; 32:1-2, 24-30) connected with the manifestations of angels are now ascribed to wisdom in Wis 10:10-12.[68] The depiction of wisdom in the Wisdom of

[67] We read in verse 21 that the name of God is in the angel. It is interesting that the text connects the name of God with angelomorphic traditions. It also supports the notion that the divine name could be hypostatised as an angel.
[68] Cf. Heres 203-204; Mosis 1.166.

Solomon is certainly grounded in the "angel of the Lord" traditions that go back to the Pentateuch.[69]

Secondly, wisdom is portrayed as one that entered the servant of the Lord. The servant of the Lord in this passage must be a reference to Moses. Some however have argued that contextually the allusion is to Aaron, since he is also mentioned in Wis 18:21 where he is described as God's servant. Moses is not the only one who is usually identified as the servant of the Lord in the OT.[70] In Isa 63:11 the Holy Spirit is said to have been put "within them." The pronoun "them" is here referring to children of Israel. In the context of vv. 16-19 Wis 10:16 may be reminiscent of the encounter between Moses, Aaron and Pharaoh in the context of signs and wonders. The text says it was through these signs and wonders (ἐν τέρασιν καὶ σημείοις) that Moses was able to withstand the kings.[71] The text suggests that wisdom was the source of the signs and wonders performed in Egypt.

The TSol

The depictions of wisdom in the TSol, however, have only faint echoes to certain aspects of wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon. I would now like to draw attention to TSol 4:10-11 where it is said that the demon, Onoskelis can be thwarted by an angel residing in Solomon. The text reads thus:

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[69] Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 98-103.

[70] See U. Rüterswörden, H. Simian-Yofre and H. Ringgren, עֶבְדָּה עֶבֶד עָבַד, TDOT 10.376-405; especially 393 -403. The servant of God may include Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Caleb, Joshua, David, Job, Hezekiah and Zerubababel. The prophets were also called the servants of Yahweh (see 1 Kgs 14:18; 15:29; 2 Kgs 14:25, Jer 7:25, et al.). Moreover, Israel was also referred to as the servant of God; and so is the suffering servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

[71] Cf. Ps 105.30ff. One may wonder why plural noun when it was only Pharaoh. The use of plural noun in a referring to a singular object is not uncommon. This is called allusive plural.

> (10) Then I said, "What angel thwarts you?" She responded, "One that is also in you, King!" (11) Now because I thought (these remarks were meant) in ridicule, I commanded a soldier to strike her. But she cried out in a loud voice and said, "I am speaking to you, King, by the wisdom of God (σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ) granted you."[72] (bd-b)

Is the angel in question by whom Onoskelis can be thwarted God's hypostasis wisdom resident in Solomon? It is important to bear in mind as well the attestation of MS P which continues thus "and by the angel Yoel [Yahoel?] (Ἰωήλ)." Although wisdom in the TSol is primarily connected with Solomon's power over demons (see 3:5; 22:6) the close association between wisdom and an angel should not be overlooked in this passage. In the light of the thwarting functions of angels in the TSol the thwarting angel of Onoskelis seems to reside in Solomon (God's hypostasis wisdom). Even in saying this not all the demons were thwarted by an angel. But should Onoskelis' response be taken symbolically or was she referring to an actual angel that dwells in Solomon? Who is this angel that resides in Solomon? Onoskelis was forced to make a second remark as a result of being struck by a soldier. Her second response may have been an attempt to clarify the somewhat enigmatic statement she made earlier. She cried out that by God's wisdom granted to Solomon and by the angel Yoel (MS P) meaning that her first reply was not an insult to Solomon but was promoted by God's wisdom which is

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The individual's actions appear to be emphasised not that of a group (cf. Matt 2:20). See N. Turner, A Grammar of New Testament Greek (vol.3; Edinburgh: T& T Clark, 1963), 25.

[72] (10) ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον· ποῖος ἀγγελός ἐστιν ὁ καταργῶν σε; ἡ δὲ ἔφη· ὁ καὶ ἐν σοί βασιλεῦ. (11) κἀγὼ εἰς χλεύην αὐτὰ λογισάμενος ἐκέλευσα στρατιώτην κροῦσαι αὐτὴν. ἡ δὲ ἀνακράξασα εἶπεν· λέγω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ, ὑπὸ τῆς δεδομένης σοι σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ (MS P) adds καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγελου Ἰωήλ; Ἰωήλ (Yahoel?) is perhaps as Hurtado (One God, One Lord, 79) suggests "an allusion to, and a combination of the well known Hebrew terms Yahweh (YHWH) and El." Cf. Apoc. Abr. (10:4-11and 11:1-3); Alan F. Segal, Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 196-97. Jackson has translated the Greek above as: "It is I who am telling you (this), O King, but it is at the instigation of God's wisdom that has been granted you." The implication here is that the words of the demon were prompted by God's

also the angel residing in Solomon. The connection between an angel and God's wisdom cannot be denied. I agree with Jackson who has hinted at the association with an ancient Jewish tradition based on Exod 23:20-21 of an angelic figure in whom Yahweh's name resides.[73]

The depiction of wisdom as an angel is already witnessed in the Wisdom of Solomon. A significant difference, however, emerges in her portrayal in the TSol. It must be noted in that the Wisdom of Solomon does not portray her as a thwarting agent, and neither do we have the assertion that wisdom resides in the person of Solomon. The TSol may be echoing a variant of the "angel of the Lord" tradition already attested in the Wisdom of Solomon. Furthermore, another motif brought into play found in the next verse is the name motif (τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰσραὴλ). It is interesting to note that the name of the Holy One of Israel was uttered by Solomon in the context of thwarting Onoskelis. The name of God is not only linked with an angel (See 6:8) but also has the power to thwart demons (cf. TSol 5:9).[74]

By the time we get to the concluding chapter of the TSol we are informed that God's spirit departed from the king and his words became as an idle talk. One can infer that this spirit, although not called the Holy Spirit, is tantamount to God's wisdom in the TSol. She is called the "Holy Spirit from on high," in Wis

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wisdom, see Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 37). Jackson might have been influenced by the NT stories where demons spoke freely through the possessed.

[73] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 37-38.

[74] On the power of the divine name, see Jarl E. Fossum, The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: the Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J.C. B Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 84-87.

9:17.[75] The dramatic change that came upon the king as a result of the withdrawal of "God's spirit" is noted as follows: "the glory of God departed from him and his spirit was darkened and he became a laughing stock to idols and demons." This strong emphasis on wisdom personified in the TSol is reminiscent of another passage in the Wisdom of Solomon where she is referred to as the "breath of the power of God." One can conclude by stating that wisdom is not portrayed in the traditional sense as depicted in Proverbs and Qoheleth but with a magical flavour. In the TSol the reinterpretation of wisdom takes on a new meaning similar to the Wisdom of Solomon but uncharacteristic in other writings. She is intrinsically linked with demonology and magic.

What Became of the Giants?

The role of wisdom is further portrayed in the flood story in Wisdom of Solomon 14. The reference to arrogant giants in Wis 14:5 below is an allusion both to the pre-diluvian period and the flood story in Genesis 6.

> For even in the beginning, when arrogant giants were perishing, (καὶ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἀπολλυμένων ὑπερηφάνων γιγάντων) the hope of the world took refuge on a raft, and guided by the hand left to the world the seed of a new generation. (NRSV)

In TSol 17:1 the lecherous spirit introduced himself as the spirit of a giant man who died in the massacre in the age of giants:

> I ordered another spirit to appear before me. There came a spirit having the shadowy form of a man and gleaming eyes. I interrogated him, saying, "who are you?" He replied, "I am a lecherous spirit of a giant man in a massacre in the age of giants"(ἐγώ εἰμι ὀχεικὸν πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου γίγαντος ἐν σφαγῇ τετελευτηκοτός ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γιγάντων)

[75] Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 131. He has remarked that the variation of terms is due to

The reference to "the age of the giants" is reminiscent of the biblical tradition of the flood story in Genesis 6 and so is the reference to the "giants" in the Wisdom of Solomon. There is nothing said about the existence of giants in the form of spirits after their destruction either in the great deluge or the internecine battle of the giants as such as we find in 1 Enoch. The TSol, however, may be hinting at a tradition regarding surviving "spirit giants" during the internecine fratricidal conflict prior to the flood or those who escaped the flood. Tradition has it that the surviving giants who existed beyond death in the form of disembodied spirits afflicted mankind with diseases (1 En15; 16; 19:1-3).[76] The spirit of the giant man (ἀνθρώπου γίγαντος) in the TSol is a demon who afflicts mankind. This idea is lacking in the Wisdom of Solomon. The parallel between the TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon is limited to an allusion to the destruction of a giant race which is reminiscent of the flood story in Genesis 6:1-4.

Preliminary Conclusions

The points of contact between the TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon appear in the form of conceptual and verbal parallels. The most significant of these is the leitmotif, wisdom. The depictions of wisdom in the TSol passages already considered are to a certain degree reminiscent of motifs we find in the Wisdom of Solomon. Some of these depictions are grounded in the exegesis of OT passages. In the TSol wisdom is primarily connected with Solomon's power over and understanding of demons/spirits. We are told that Solomon

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poetical parallelism.

[76] Similar tradition appears in the Book of Giants (4Q 510 15 and 4Q511 35 7) and Jubilees; for further discussion on the disembodied spirits of the giants see also Loren T. Stuckenbruck's article, "The 'Angel' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1-4 in Second and Third

would subdue and control and have understanding of all spirits (22:1) in three domains: the air, earth, and under the earth. While wisdom is the main source of knowledge as demonstrated in 7:15-22 the TSol has taken this further to ascribe esoteric knowledge to the demons. The details of the particular knowledge as listed in Wis 7:15-22, the wisdom Listenwissenschaft, do have parallels with the TSol but all these are functionally connected with demonology. Solomon is depicted as a Hellenised sage versed in demonology, astrology and magic. Torijano points out that the transformation of Solomon into a Hellenised sage has its origin not with the author of Wisdom of Solomon but in Egypt in the first century CE.[77]

Parallels in motifs can be seen in wisdom's depictions in chapters 9 and 10 of Wisdom of Solomon. The elevated view of wisdom as portrayed in the Wisdom of Solomon is also reflected in the TSol. It is conceived as a heavenly figure. In the TSol it is regarded as a divine power immanent in Solomon, but at the close of the TSol it is called "the spirit of God."[78] The angel of the Lord tradition(s) in Wisdom of Solomon 9, where wisdom is connected with angel of the Lord" activities in Pentateuchal narratives, does have parallels with the TSol. Again the TSol appears to have given a demonological slant to these motifs. For example, the thwarting angel of Onoskelis appears to be wisdom that resides in Solomon. The motif of wisdom's residence in the person of Solomon (God's servant) may be an echo of Wis 10:16's depiction of wisdom entering in the servant of the Lord.

Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions," DSD 7 (2000): 354-77.

[77] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 94-95, 99-100.

[78] Conybeare, The Testament of Solomon, 18.

There are very few verbal parallels pointed out in my discussion. Firstly, the word τεχνῖται used for Solomon's skilled workmen in the TSol is similar to the term τεχνίτης used to describe wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon. Secondly, the use of the word ὁμοθυμαδον to describe the response of the thirty-six decans in one voice 18:2 parallels the same word used to describe the righteous praising God "in one accord" in Wis 10:20. These technical terms although occur in both works are not used precisely the same way. The use of the word βίας occurs in both the TSol and Wisdom of Solomon and are used of demonic forces. Finally, the most important verbal parallel is the phrase τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν which echoes a passage in the Wisdom of Solomon. This phrase may indicate that the author knew it in some form and has sought to utilise it. The author might have drawn on from popular stock phrases and not necessarily directly from the Wisdom of Solomon.

The allusion to the story of the giants in the TSol and the Wisdom of Solomon is not in any way indicative of borrowing in any direction. What this illustrates is the utilisation of a common fund of tradition known by both authors. It is however difficult to establish how much the author of the Wisdom of Solomon knew about the deluge and the giants since he appears only to be alluding to the incident in order to make a point. What we find in the Wisdom of Solomon is a reinterpretation of wisdom. She takes on a new meaning and this is even further developed and assimilated within a demonological framework in the TSol.

Chapter 6

Pseudo-Philo[1] and the TSol

Introduction

LAB is a retelling of the biblical story of the history of Israel from Adam to the death of King Saul. The composition is an admixture of legendary expansions, poems, prayers, speeches and various forms of biblical materials (expansions, paraphrases and abbreviated materials). LAB may be dated between c. 50 CE and 150 CE. There is however a polarisation amongst scholars between a pre-70 CE[2] and a post-70 CE[3] dating. H. Jacobson represents those who defend a post-70 CE date, while Daniel J. Harrington and others favour a pre-70 CE. Both Harrington and Jacobson based their dating on internal evidence. Their arguments were primarily hinged on events before or after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE deduced from various LAB passages. Jacobson however has attempted to show that more passages support his dating. A Palestinian provenance seems probable.[4] The extant Latin text is a translation from Greek which goes back to a Semitic original, perhaps Hebrew.[5] I shall be focussing my discussion on two LAB passages.

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[1] LAB from herewith. For other commentaries and translations, see M. R. James, The Biblical Antiquities of Philo (Translations of Early Docments. Series 1: Palestinian Jewish Texts. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917) and Daniel J. Harrington, J. Cazeaux, C. Perrot, and P. M. Bogaert, Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquities Bibliques (2 vols; Paris, 1976).

[2] See Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo" in OTP 2:299-303.

[3] See Howard Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation (2 vols. Leiden/ New York: E. J. Brill, 1996), 199-211.

[4] Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 210-11; Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," 300.

I. LAB 60

The first is LAB 60 which begins by telling us about the evil spirit that was tormenting Saul. This passage is based on the biblical account in 1 Sam 16:14-23 (Evv). The rest of the chapter is another Psalm of David.[6] The passage can be divided into two sections. The first is the reworking of the first five days of creation which culminates with the creation of "spirits." God is here the creator of all things including the "evil spirits." The second deals with exorcism proper and David is here identified as an exorcist. The passage below is part of a song played by David for Saul. Although they are quite cryptic and mysterious, they nonetheless show that LAB's world too was preoccupied with evil spirits and demons:

> (3) And now do not be troublesome as one created on the second day. But if not, remember Tartarus[7] where you walk (tartari in quo ambulas). Or is it not enough for you to hear that, through what resounds before you, I sing to many? Or do you not remember that you were created from a resounding echo in the chaos?[8] But let the new womb from which I was born rebuke you[9], from which after a time one born from

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[5] Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," 298; "The Original Language of Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum," HTR 63 (1970): 503-14.

[6] This is included with LAB 59: 4ff and LAB 61. See J. Strugnell, "More Psalms of 'David,'" CBQ 27 (1965): 207-16. In LAB 59 David sang a song after he was anointed.

[7] Cf. TSol 6:2-3. In the TSol it is the place where the highest ranking angel, Beelzeboul, kept his prisoners. See Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 1177-78.

[8] See Jackson, "Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonic Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum," JSJ 27 (1996): 1-20. He has suggested replacing "in chaoma tonata" with "in chasmate nata" thus making the origin of the demon from "an echo in the abyss" rather than from "a resounding echo in the chaos." This will also obviate the philological difficulties inherent in the text. Jacobson intimates that the basic meaning should be "an echo in the abyss." This is in line with Jackson's translation and makes more sense than echo in chaos; Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 1178-79. This may be reminiscent of the birth of Onoskelis in TSol 4. For a commentary on the Greek of this TSol passage see Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 32-36, note 39.

[9] Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 1179-80. He finds the Latin: arguet autem te metra nova unde natus sum "that new womb shall rebuke thee, wherefore, I am born" difficult because how can one and the same womb be mother to both David and to his descendant. He suggests the reading: arguet autem tempora nova unde natus sum: "a new age will show from whom I am born." The difficulty with this translation is that it does not make sense in the context of chapter 60. Secondly, the idea of a "new age,"

my loins will rule over you. And as long as David sang, the spirit spared Saul.

The reference to an evil spirit that torments Saul was supposedly a spirit created from a "resounding echo of the chasm/abyss."[10] The origin of the demon in LAB 60 is contrasted with the lineage of the exorcists in the subsequent verse. The implication here is one of superiority on the part of the exorcist. A relevant point of contact between LAB and the TSol is the reference to the one born from the loins of David who will rule over the evil spirit that once possessed Saul. Who is this one born from the loins of David? First of all, could the Sitz im Leben of the song played by David in the above passage be the same as one of the four songs mentioned in the Davidic composition of the DSS: לנגן על הפגועים (the music over the stricken/ possessed) referred to in 11QPs^{a} XXVII?[11]J. Strugnell has already linked the preceding chapter with David in his Hebrew retroversion of the Latin text of chapter 59. He came to a conclusion that LAB 59 may be one of the non-canonical "Psalms of David" that circulated during the Second Temple period.[12]

With regards to the one from the loins of David, one cannot conclusively establish this to be a reference to Solomon or a future son of David. There is however a general consensus that the phrase may be an allusion to the son of David despite the absence of the "son of David" title. Furthermore, whether

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which most probably is an apocalyptic notion, does not seem to be a special interest of the author of Pseudo-Philo.

[10] For replacing "χάος" (chaoma/ chaomata) with "χάσμα" (chasma) see note 8. Echo as a mother can be traced back to Hellenistic times.

[11] Jackson, "Echoes and Demons," 9 especially note 15. He argues that LAB 60 in its present form could not be the same song mentioned in the Apocryphal Psalms because the different cosmogony presented.

[12] Strugnell, "More Psalms of 'David,'" 207-16.

or not the allusion here to the son of David has any messianic overtones is debatable. On the one hand, Klausner argues that this could have been a Christian interpolation referring to Jesus.[13] Some have argued for a Jewish messiah after the pattern of T. Levi 18:12 and 1 Enoch 69.28 who binds Belial and overcomes evil spirits.[14] Others have expressed the possibility that this could be a reference to Solomon.[15] Harrington, on the other hand, intimates that this is unlikely to be a reference to the future messiah, because LAB has little or no interest in a messiah figure. He instead proposes that Solomon may be intended here since he was well known for his power over spirits.[16] This could be a specific reference to a tradition of a would-be son of David who would be an exorcist. Klaus Berger has intimated that the eschatological equivalent of the figure is related to the figure's son or whoever follows him.[17] If this is the case the most likely candidate is Solomon. Unfortunately, there is not much in the text that we can go by.

Evidence from the Apocryphal Psalms does connect Solomon's name and his father David in a context of exorcism. Could it be that Solomon inherited a legacy from his father—one that gives him authority over demons? In Jubilees we find a similar father-son relationship in an exorcistic context. In chapter 10 Noah was taught by angels healing with the aid of herbs for the protection against the assault of evil spirits. This was to enable him to protect his sons.

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[13] J. Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel (trans. by W. F. Stinespring; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956), 366-69.
[14] Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,1180. P. Riessler, Altjudisches Schriftum ausserhalb der Bibel (4th edition; Freiburg, Heidelberg: Kerle, 1979), 1315-18.
[15] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 91.
[16] Harrington, OTP 2:373 note 60e.
[17] K. Berger, "Die Königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments, " NTS 20 (1973-74): 4.

Noah then wrote everything in a book and gave this book to his oldest son, Shem.[18] Another father-son relationship in connection with a written legacy is the case of Adam. We are informed in the Apocalypse of Adam[19] that Adam communicated Gnostic secret revelation to his son Seth. From the external evidence presented above it is clear that sons of some of the patriarchs did inherit their fathers' legacy. They took on from their fathers in the field of exorcism, magic and healing, and Solomon is not an exception to this rule. The identification of Solomon with one from the "loins of David" may after all not be far-fetched. The focus of TSol revolves around Solomon's power to thwart demons and harness them to build the Temple of God. One could suggest that the TSol is the fulfilment of the prophecy in LAB 60 since the author of the TSol demonstrates convincingly that Solomon was able to subjugate all demons and spirits.

II. The Precious Stones Motif[20]

My second passage is chapter 25. This is integral to the Kenaz cycle contained in chapters 25-29.[21] The focus is on certain precious stones of the Amorites which are placed in the summit of mountains (cf. 25:10 and 26:3). The stones are described in the narrative as powerful and mysterious. Their

[18] Two documents attributed to Shem are "The Paraphrase of Shem" in NHC VII. Although these documents do not have any magical overtone, they nonetheless point to the existence of a tradition about Shem's literary activity. See Charlesworth, "Shem, Treatise of," ABD 5:1195-96.
[19] See OTP 1:707-19; we find reference to Solomon and demons in chapter 7. Cf. NHC VII, 2. See Frederik Wisse, "Seth, Second Treatise of the Great," ABD 5:1119.
[20] See comments about the luminescent precious stones in my discussion of the rabbinic literature.
[21] On Kenaz, see Judg 3:9-11. In LAB he becomes Caleb's son and first judge.

power was taken seriously because they can emit their own supernatural light and also heal the blind.[22] A section of chapter 25 reads thus:

> (11) . . .Those precious stones, among which were crystal and prase,[23] were brought from the land of Havilah; and they had a pierced style. And one of them was cut on the top, and another spotted chrysoprase shone in its cutting as if it revealed the water of the deep lying beneath it. (12) and these are the precious stones that the Amorites had in their sanctuaries, the value of which cannot be estimated; because of those entering by night the light of the lamp was not necessary, so brightly did the natural light of the stones shine forth. But among those that one cut in the pierced style and cleansed with bristles gave off more light. For even if one the Amorites was blind, he would go and put his eyes on it and recover sight. These Kenaz found, and he stored them in hiding until he might know what to do about them.

In the chapter subsequent to this passage the mysterious properties of the precious stones are further elucidated. It is noteworthy that the reference to the "prase" in conjunction with the land of Havilah echoes the biblical text of Gen 2:11-12. Furthermore, the notion that the "crystal and prase" from the land of Havilah reminds us of the "green stone" (ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος) in chapter 10 of the TSol:

> (5) Then I said to him, "What is your activity and why do you seem to me so prosperous?" The demon said, "Turn over your manservant to me and I shall spirit him off to a place in the mountains where I shall show him the green stone shaken loose from its foundation. With it, you will adorn the Temple of God." (6) When I heard these things I immediately ordered my household servant to accompany and take the ring bearing God's seal with him. I told him, "Go with him and wherever it is he shows you[24] the green stone, seal him with the ring, observe the place in detail, and bring the ring back to me." (7) So when (the demon) with the ring of God, and brought the green stone back to me. (8) I then decided to have the two demons, the headless one and the dog, bound, and (to request that) the stone be carried about day and night like, a light for the working of the artisans.

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[22] F. J. Murphy, Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 121.

[23] "christallinus et prasinus" Prasinus is a transliteration the Greek word, πράσινος in Gen 2:12. The influence here is the LXX rather than the Vulgate since the latter has "et aurum terrae illius optimum est ibique invenitur bdellium et lapis onychinus." The LXX phrase λίθος ὁ πράσινος is the translation of the Hebrew אבן שהם.

[24] I am inclined to follow Jackson here, "wherever it is he shows you" for οὗ δ'ἂν ἐπιδείξει contra Duling's "whoever shows you" since the emphasis in the context appears to be the "location" of the green stone and not the "one who locates it."

Not only is there a connection with the Temple or sanctuary as in LAB, there are similarities with regards to its nomenclature, location and properties. LAB has highlighted the special quality of one of the precious stones. I have already noted that amongst these precious stones was one called "prasinus" (a green gem). As regarding its location the "green stone" (ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος) in the TSol was located in the mountains, LAB intimates that these stones were placed on the summit of mountains. One of the many properties of the precious stones was to give light. Similarly, the "green stone" in the TSol was used to provide light for the Temple construction as well as a means for some financial support (10:29).[25] A follow-up discussion on the green stone will appear in my discussion of the rabbinic literature and the TSol.

As far as LAB 25:10-12 is concerned Jacobson has questioned the translation, "cleansed with bristles."[26] There is suggestion that what we have in the extant Latin text might have been a confusion between the Hebrew שער (hair) and שעיר (demon). Jacobson has consented to translate it as follows "purified people of demons" since the context has to do with healing of the eyes. He has also drawn examples from rabbinic literature[27] that has connected eye diseases with demons. Hence Jacobson has conjectured that that the text speaks simultaneously of a precious stone that heals eye diseases and drives away the afflicting demons connected with this ailment.[28] Based on this assumption, one of the stones appears to possess both

[25] See Jackson's comment in "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 49-50.
[26] de setis emundabatur.

apotropaic and therapeutic qualities. Although there appears to be some parallels between the green stone and those discussed above, the therapeutic feature, however, is lacking in the TSol.

Preliminary Conclusions

The two elements in LAB 60 which I have examined so far appear to be similar but not identical to what we have in the TSol. There are the references to one from "the loins of David" who will rule over the evil spirit, and the "precious stones" motif. The motif of the precious stones from Havilah may go back to the Gen 2:11-12 of the LXX. It appears that both authors drew independently from free floating traditions about precious stones which may have their origin from the OT. The most significant parallel to the TSol is the mention of a future "son of David" who will subdue demons. Despite the difficulty in ascertaining who the author intends to identify as coming from the loins of David; this passage with other external evidence may offer us some clues that link David, the father of Solomon with demonological lore and exorcism. There is no indication whatsoever that there was literary borrowing by the TSol from LAB. Both LAB and the TSol appear to be drawing from a common fund of knowledge regarding Solomon, the son of David who had power over demons. More will be said on the significance of the "son of David" title in another chapter dealing with the NT.

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[27] b. Pes 112a cf. b.Git 69a; b. B. Bat. 16b; and t. Qidd. 5.17.
[28] Jacobson, A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 756.

Chapter 7

Josephus and the TSol

Introduction

In a section of Josephus' Antiquitates Judaicae[1] (Jewish Antiquities) 7.337-8. 211 Josephus rewrites the biblical story about Solomon we already encountered in my discussion of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. Although my task here is to compare Josephus and the TSol, as an introductory comment it is worth noting some of the inherent complexities in establishing Josephus' source. It appears that Josephus' dominant source is the Bible(s)/Scriptures (ἀναγραφαί) as he himself unequivocally avers in Ant. 1:17 that throughout his writing he will set forth the precise details of the Scriptures (τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς) each in its place (κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν) neither adding nor omitting anything (οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ'αὖ Παραλιπών). In his concluding remarks he again reminds his readers that he has accomplished what he set out to do at the beginning in that he has fully and accurately narrated the history of the Jewish people (Ant. 20.260-61). It becomes obvious to the keen reader that there are apparent discrepancies between Josephus' account and Scriptures (I am here referring to the LXX and the MT).

The question then arises which specific Bible(s)/ Scriptures did he use for his composition? At least two main sources were at his disposal—the Hebrew

[1] Hereafter Ant. Except otherwise indicated I shall be using the Text and English translation of the writings of Josephus from H. St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren and L. H. Feldman (eds.) Josephus. With an EnglishTranslation (LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press/London: Heinemann, 1926-65).

(proto-MT) and the LXX. [2] Furthermore, there is hint that Josephus could have used an early form of the Aramaic Targum which existed before the second century CE.[3] Did he know the Bible only second-hand through other media such as a form of Jewish Midrashim? He could have utilised extra-biblical traditions which were both Jewish and pagan. Louis H. Feldman had added that "Scriptures" from Josephus' point of view might have included Jewish tradition in general.[4] Moreover, it appears that Josephus had various sources[5] at his disposal, written as well as oral sources, ranging from rabbinic Midrashim, Palestinian tradition, Hellenistic Jewish traditions and Philo; and the use of other sources might not preclude his own modifications.[6] Some of the traditions Josephus had access to are now incorporated in the extant Targums, Talmuds and Midrashim.[7] Josephus functions both as a redactor and an apologist in his use of his source materials.

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[2] Josephus' could have used a proto-Lucianic recension of the LXX for 1 Kings. See Eugene C. Ulrich, The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus (HSM19; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978), 22-37, 257-59. Ulrich argues that Josephus used the proto-Lucianic Greek text but denies his use of any Hebrew text. See also N. G. Cohen, "Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus' Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar through the Antiquities I- XI?" JQR 54 (1963-64): 311-32. On Josephus' sources and his rewriting of the Bible, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 24-65.

[3] Louis H. Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT 2,2; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1988), 458. Harold W. Attridge, The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus (HDR 7; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), 32. Attridge hints at a written Aramaic source.

[4] Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 470.

[5] On his use of Greek historical writings, see Rowland J. H. Shutt, Studies in Josephus (London: SPCK, 1961), 79-109.

[6] Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 471-76. It is also noted that several of Josephus' modifications have some parallels to Rabbinic Judaism, and there are also parallels to Pseudo- Philo's Biblical Antiquities in terms of the extra-biblical materials, see Feldman, "Josephus (CE 37-C.100)," in The Cambridge History of Judaism, 3: The Early Roman Period (ed. William Horbury, W. D. Davies and John Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 901-21.

[7] C. T. Begg, Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8, 212-420). Rewriting the Bible (BETL 108; Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993), 270-76.

Josephus' language and ideas indicate that he hellenized his narratives, perhaps this is an attempt to appeal to the Greco-Roman world or a Gentile-Hellenistic audience.[8] In his portrayal of the biblical characters he has recast heroes such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David and Solomon into the like of Hellenistic idealised figures. Abraham, for example, has the qualities of a "philosopher-king, scientist, rhetorician-logician, and romantic hero."[9] As Feldman succinctly puts it, he transforms "them into a reflection of the Hellenistic ideal of the virtuous wise man."[10] Feldman has reiterated that Josephus' Hellenization of Jewish figures was an apologia to the Greco-Roman world, and to which presentation King Solomon is not an exception. Solomon is cast in a Sophoclean mould so much that he is depicted as a type of Jewish Oedipus. Josephus emphasises the four cardinal virtues and almost dismisses the theological aspects. In addition to the cardinal virtues (wisdom, courage, temperance and justice) features such as handsomeness, piety, sense of gratitude, and modesty are all accentuated in the figure of Solomon.[11]

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[8] Attridge, The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus, 17-27, 37.

[9] Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 480-481.

[10] Ibid., 480-81, 86. Feldman has given detailed analyses of Josephus' portrayal of some of the biblical figures including Solomon accentuating the cardinal virtues. He dwells on σοφία and ἀρετη in his treatment of Solomon. See "Josephus' portrait of David," HUCA 60 (1989): 129-174; "Josephus' Portrait of Saul," HUCA 53 (1982): 45-99; "Josephus' Portrait of Joshua," HTR 82 (1989): 351-76; "Josephus' Portrait of Jacob, " JQR 79 (1988-89): 101-51. Also Feldman, "Hellenizations in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities: The Portrait of Abraham," in Josephus, Judaism and Christianity (ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 133-53, especially 137; "Hellenizations in Josephus' Portrayal of Man's Decline," in Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough (SHR 14; ed. J. Neusner. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 336-53. Feldman, "Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon," in Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity (ed. Elisabeth S. Fiorenza; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 69-98. Feldman has listed 39 characteristics which may have influenced Josephus rewriting of the Bible. Some of these I find applicable to Josephus' portrayal of Solomon. See Feldman, Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible (Supplements to JSJ 58; Leiden/ Boston/ Köln: Brill, 1998), 539-70.

[11] Feldman, "Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon," 69-98. See also Feldman, Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible, 539-70. Torijano has also

I intend to compare and evaluate the TSol vis -à vis Josephus. This is an attempt to find out whether and to what degree materials in the TSol were known to Josephus. In my analysis I shall not be merely focussing on the figure of Solomon but all relevant pericopae connected with Solomon. The motifs, themes and ideas that I shall subsequently be commenting on are parallels specific to King Solomon as presented in the TSol and Josephus. Briefly, Solomon is presented in the writings of Josephus as a literary sage and a philosopher who has an insight into the secret workings of nature, and a composer of odes, songs, parables, similitudes, and incantations used in exorcisms, the great Temple builder, a wise king and judge who is internationally renowned, a wealthy monarch, and a king who reigned in peace. Josephus finally draws the curtain on Solomon's reign by presenting his demise as a result of his idolatry.

Solomon's Literary Activity

The Jewish Antiquities

In the passage below Josephus depicts the quality and content of Solomon's wisdom by enumerating how his wisdom excels that of the ancients and the Egyptians:

> Now so great was the prudence and wisdom (φρόνησις καὶ σοφία) which God granted Solomon that he surpassed the ancients (ἀρχαίους), and even the Egyptians, who are said (λέγονται) to excel all men in understanding (συνέσει), were not only, when compared with him, a little inferior but proved to fall far short of the king in sagacity (φρονήσεως). He also surpassed and excelled in wisdom (σοφίᾳ) those who in his own time (τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν) had a reputation for cleverness among the Hebrews, and whose names I

commented on the presentation of Solomon as a Hellenistic king; see Solomon the Esoteric King, 29-40.

shall not omit; they were Athanos and Haimanos and Chalkeos and Dardanos, sons of Hemaon.

He also composed a thousand and five books of odes[12] and songs (ᾠδῶν καὶ μελῶν) and three thousand books of proverbs and similitudes (παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων),[13] for he spoke a parable about every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar and in like manner about cattle (κτηνῶν)[14] and all kinds of living[15] terrestrial creatures (τῶν ἐπίγειων ἁπάντων ζώων) and those that swim (τῶν νηκτῶν) and those that are in the air (τῶν ἀερίων).[16] There was no form of nature with which he was not acquainted or which he passed over without examining, but he studied them all philosophically (ἐφιλοσόφησε)[17] and revealed the most complete knowledge of their several properties. (Ant. 8.42-44)

Josephus' primary source is most probably a proto- Lucianic LXX text of 3 Kgdms 5: 9-14 (1 Kgs 4: 29-34 [Evv] = 5:9-14 [MT]). A comparison between Josephus' comment and his primary source reveals that he has thoroughly reworked his source in order to make his case. Torijano has argued that Josephus has transformed biblical Solomon into a Hermetic sage. Solomon is not a legendary king who lived in a historical past but is a wise king par excellence who lives in Josephus' time.[18]

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[12] McCown has intimated that Josephus' readers would have understood ᾠδαι to mean incantations and not psalms. See McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," 2.

[13] This word could also be translated as "similes," or "likeness." Some have translated it "sketches," See Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's Antiquitates Judaicae 8.42-49," HTR 78 (1985): 20 note 57. McCown has labeled the expression παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων "merely rhetorically tautological" if it meant nothing more than proverbs. He is convinced that the word εἰκών means more than "parable," or "comparison." Moreover, the word has been used outside Josephus in the context of medicine, magic and virtues of plants. See McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," 4.

[14] There is error in Marcus' English translation in LCL because κτήνη refers to "domesticated animals" or "cattle" not "birds."

[15] I have supplied "living" which is in the Greek text.

[16] I have supplied my translation for the phrase "those that are in the air."

[17] This verb φιλοσοφέω can also mean "to investigate, study or examined scientifically." See LSJ 2:1939-40. The LXX, however, uses σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι to describe the magicians and sorcerer-priests at the court of Babylon, see O. Michel, "φιλοσοφία, φιλόσοφος," TDNT 9:172-88.

[18] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 96-105.

A number of observations are worth noting. The above passage is divided into two parts. The first half deals primarily with the comparison between Solomon and other wise men. The wisdom motif dominates the text and this is indicated by Josephus' employment of the words φρόνησις, συνέσις and σοφία. His first comparison with the ancients and Egyptians is in accordance with the biblical tradition. As Torijano rightly points out, in rewriting Scripture Josephus has made use of the present infinitives in addition to his use of λέγονται as if to appeal to the current notion regarding the reputation of the Egyptians in magic.[19] In his second comparison Josephus takes us back in time to the days of Solomon (τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτον καιρὸν) before listing the names of these reputable wise sages. This may be another of his technique so as to appeal to the Jewish minds since they must have known these men for their wisdom. The number of the wise men echoes the LXX but Josephus presents a different version of their names and has included one called Dardanos[20] whose name also appears in Greco-Egyptian magical texts.

The wisdom motif which Josephus starts off with in the first section of our passage he further elaborates in the second section. He again follows the biblical tradition in illustrating wisdom in terms of its practical application. He shifts his readers' attention to Solomon's literary skills and records five significant elements of this aspect of Solomon's wisdom: (i) books of odes and songs; (ii) proverbs and similitudes; (iii) catalogue of proverbs of every kind of tree (iv) catalogue of proverbs of beasts/cattle, terrestrial creatures,

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[19] Ibid., 96-97.
[20] On Dardanos see R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und früchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), 163, note 4. Cf. PGM IV 1716-1810 and 2610-20. See also Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 97-98.

those that swim and those in the air (v) a complete knowledge of the properties of nature.

When the text of Josephus is compared with the LXX and the MT the following emerges: (i) the order of "proverbs" and "songs" is reversed (ii) the number of the songs and proverbs are also different (iii) he reverses the order of the trees so that cedar to hyssop becomes hyssop to cedar (iv) the order and categories of animals are also different. In Josephus' account the number of proverbs increases from 3,000 proverbs to 3,000 "library of *books*" of proverbs and similitudes, and instead of "1,005 songs," Josephus records 1005 "library of *books*" of odes and songs. Josephus appears not to have followed the LXX number of 5,000 songs but rather employs the same number attested in the MT. He could have utilised the Hebrew text or knew a variant of the LXX which corresponds to the MT. His categories of animals, except for the cattle, are more comprehensive to include all land/terrestrial (τῶν ἐπίγειων), aquatic (τῶν νηκτῶν) and aerial (τῶν ἀερίων) creatures. Josephus' categorisation represents the three domains of the animal kingdom. Torijano argues that these categories of living beings correspond to the elements (stoicheia) just like what we find in Wis 7:17-22.[21] Josephus has been successful to present Solomon both as a sage and a philosopher in his remarkable heightening of Solomon's greatness and wisdom. The latter term subsumes Solomon's encyclopaedic scientific knowledge of plants and animals which he philosophically (ἐφιλοσόφησε) studied.

[21] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 100.

The TSol

The demonstration of Solomon's understanding and wisdom in his literary activity as presented in Josephus is certainly lacking in the TSol. The latter does not mention anything about Solomon's literary compositions such as parables, similitudes, odes or songs. The author instead focuses his readers' attention on the reason why Solomon wrote the Testament. The first time he tells us his reason for writing this testament is in chapter 15. He states explicitly that he wrote the TSol so that the sons of Israel might know the powers of the demons (MS P 15:14).

The Testament is meant to be a kind of instruction book or manual for the children of Israel. It is rooted in the attempt to control demons who cause mental, physical and social ills: all kinds of diseases and bodily defects, from sea sickness to epilepsy. The demons are particularly dangerous to women in childbirth and to infants, and are also responsible for natural catastrophes such as the destruction of fields, flocks, houses, ships and human lives. The structure of the TSol betrays the author's demonological inclination. An example of the structure of chapter is as follows:

A. Interrogation of demon X
B. The Identity of the demon X
   i. Who are you?
   ii. Name
   iii. Astrological location
   iv. Activities of the demon
C. The thwarting agent revealed
D. Solomon praises God
E. Sealing of the Demon
F. Demon X consigned to work on the Temple building

Except for the historiolae, most of the chapters of the TSol are fashioned along similar lines with the identity of the demon and the thwarting agent of

the demon being central elements. McCown assertion is correct when he states that the primary concern of the author was medical, and for the writer, "demons were what bacilli were to modern physician, and his magical recipes and angel names are his pharmacopoeia."[22] In the final chapter of the testament the author again reiterates his interest:

> Let my testament be guarded for you as a great mystery against the unclean spirits so that you know the devices of the evil demons and the powers of the holy angels;[23] (26:8)

Exorcism Proper

The Jewish Antiquities

In the passage below (Ant. 8. 45-49) Josephus continues to establish the reputation of Solomon by moving to the magic domain. Solomon's composition not only includes "incantations" (ἐπῳδάς) and "forms of exorcism (τρόποι ἐξορκώσεων) but Josephus remarkably proceeds to give us a practical demonstration of one of Solomon's composition:

> And God granted him knowledge of the art (τέχνην) against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations (ἐπῳδάς)) by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms (τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων) with which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return. And this kind of cure is of very great power among us to this day, for I have seen (ἱστόρησα) a certain Eleazar, a countryman of mine, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, tribunes and a number of other soldiers, free men possessed by demons, and this was the manner of the cure: he put to the nose of the possessed man a ring which had under its seal one of the roots prescribed by Solomon through his nostrils, and, when the man at once fell down, adjured the demon never to come back into him, having mentioned (μεμνημένος)[24] Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed. Then, wishing to convince the bystanders and prove to them to them that he had this power, Eleazar placed a cup or foot-basin full of water a little way off and commanded the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and make known to

[22] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 47.
[23] MSS H, N.
[24] The verb μιμνήσκω has a range of meanings such as "recalled to memory", "put in mind," "remember," "remind oneself," and "make mention of."

> the spectators that he had left the man. And when this was done, the understanding and wisdom (σύνεσις καὶ σοφία) of Solomon were clearly revealed on account of which we have been induced to speak of these things, in order that all men may know the greatness of his (Solomon's) nature and how God favoured him, and that no one under the sun may be ignorant of the king's surpassing virtue (ἀρετῆς) of every kind.

On a general note, four elements are immediately apparent in the introductory comment of the aforementioned passage: (i) The source of Solomon's knowledge is God; (ii) the contents of Solomon's knowledge: art used against demons; incantations against illness; and forms of exorcisms (iii) the purpose to which Solomon's composition can be put. It should be used for the benefit of mankind (iv) Solomon's legacy: the cure is of great power to this day (referring to the time of Josephus). I shall refer to these elements again in my discussion of the TSol.

The magical component of Solomon's literary activity is prominent in Josephus. It is noted that Josephus generally down plays miracles by rationalizing them. At times he tends to be ambiguous towards events which were perceived as miracles.[25] It is intriguing that despite Josephus' equivocal stance towards miracles, mythology and the occult he chose to present Solomon as a magician. The remark about Solomon's composition in Josephus may have led scholars like Conybeare to hint at the possibility that the TSol in its original form could have been the very incantations composed by Solomon.[26] Duling likewise has intimated whether Eleazar could have learnt things mentioned by Josephus in the TSol implying that Eleazar could

[25] Hans O. Betz, "Miracles in the Writings of Flavius Josephus," in Josephus, Judaism and Christianity, 212-235; Morton Smith, "The Occult in Josephus," Josephus, Judaism and Christianity, 236-56.
[26] Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 12.

have known the TSol in some form.[27] If this is the case we must find clear and unambiguous parallels between the TSol and Josephus.

The narrative continues with a demonstration of an actual exorcistic activity. Josephus prefaced this exorcism account with the word ἱστόρησα instead of εἶδον which may indicate that he did not actually "see" the incident because the former means to hear, to examine or to inquire about an event. Torijano argues that Josephus use of language here is an attempt to authenticate the veracity of the incident; furthermore, the reason for including this particular story is to appeal to a popular exorcistic or magical tradition.[28] The two motifs which are obvious in the passage are the ring and root motifs both of which are not only the constituents of the magician's (Eleazar) paraphernalia but are also linked in Josephus' narrative.

The ring as described by Josephus that was placed to the nose of the possessed was not an ordinary ring. It appears to have a compartment under its seal large enough to contain roots prescribed by Solomon. Although Josephus does not mention anything about the inscription on the seal of the ring used by Eleazar, he nonetheless makes mention of what is found underneath its seal thereby drawing his readers' attention to its contents: the roots prescribed by Solomon.[29]

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[27] Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus' Antiquitates Judaicae," 22.
[28] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King,102-103.
[29] Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus' Antiquitates Judaicae," 22.

In another discourse Josephus speaks of the therapeutic properties of certain roots and stones when referring to the Essenes. He comments,

> They display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients, singling out in particular those which make for the welfare of soul and body; with the help of these and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into medicinal roots and the properties of stones. (J. W. 2.136)

Although we are not told what kinds of diseases it cured it could have been prescribed for all sorts of ailments ranging from fever to demonic possession. Furthermore, he tells us about the peculiar but powerful "baaras" plant whose roots are used to expel demons when applied to the patient (J.W. 7.178-175).[30] The powers of roots for medicinal, apotropaic and exorcistic purposes are well attested in the Hellenistic culture; and Josephus unequivocally makes the link between the healing properties of roots and exorcism. Incidentally, the Greeks do have tradition earlier than Josephus which discusses the powers of roots.[31] The actual exorcism that Josephus has just related shows the recurring motifs of wisdom, understanding and virtue from a Hellenistic perspective.

The TSol

Similarly, the TSol may also reveal the four elements in Josephus' introductory comment in Ant. 8.45-49: (i) The source of Solomon's knowledge is God; (ii) the contents of Solomon's knowledge: art used against

[30] The correct versification is J.W. 7.178 not 7.78 according to Duling.
[31] Theophrastus of Eresus (ca 370 – 288 BCE) in his work "Enquiry into Plants" in Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants (trans. A. Hort; 2 vols. London: William Heinemann, 1916). BOOK IX discusses "rootcutters" and "roots," and section XVII informs us about the magical properties of some of these plants. Theophrastus distinguishes between the δυνάμεις of medicinal roots and δυνάμεις of roots in general. The word δυνάμεις has the characteristic of a mix of "powers" and "properties." See John Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots," in Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion (ed.

demons; incantations against illness; and forms of exorcisms (iii) the purpose to which Solomon's composition can be put; (iv) Solomon's legacy. Firstly, the TSol informs us about the source of Solomon's wisdom. Like Josephus, TSol clearly identifies God as the source of Solomon's wisdom. This is linked with Solomon's power over the demonic world (3:5; 4:1; 22: 1-3).[32] Secondly, the content of Solomon's wisdom includes his power over both male and female demons; in addition to this is Solomon's knowledge of the activities of demons, their names and thwarting agents. Thirdly, the purpose of the TSol as indicated in the two passages detailing the rationale for writing the Testament which is to benefit mankind. Finally, the TSol is a legacy left behind by Solomon.

I. The Ring motif

The ring motif occurs in both documents, and there are some parallels and dissimilarities in the function and method employed in using the ring. At the outset of the TSol we are told of Solomon's predicament: his assistant, the little boy was constantly harassed by the pesky demon, Ornias (TSol 1:1-5) when Solomon responds promptly by entreating the Lord, begging him to deliver the demon into his hand. It is this crisis which sets our story in motion in the TSol; God grants Solomon's petition by giving him a gift through the archangel Michael. The author informs us about this in the following words:

> . . . there was granted me from the Lord of Sabaoth through the archangel Michael a ring which had a seal[33] engraved on precious stones (TSol 1:6-7).

Christopher A. Faraone & Dirk Obbink; New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 138-74, especially, 151.

[32] See my earlier comments on 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles.

[33] Duling refers to the existence of the descriptions of the seal but did not pay much attention to them in his translation. McCown, however, prints them separately on pages 100*-101* of his edition. MSS P and Q have a pentalpha cut into the bezel of the ring, while MSS HIL, V[r]

The gift, a ring,[34] was meant to serve a purpose that is to dominate the TSol. McCown states that the ring is the chief part of Solomon's magical equipment.[35] It is this ring, either in the hand of the king or a medium which endows its possessor with all power to subdue every demon. The ring appears to have a dual function. Firstly, it incapacitates the demon and secondly, it enables the possessor to get a specialised service from the demon, particularly to do with the building of the Temple. In other words, not only does the ring enable the possessor to overpower the demons but it also helped Solomon to harness their powers for the Temple construction. In TSol 7:3 Lix Tetrax was incapacitated with the ring; and in TSol 7:8 the demon was made to pick up stones for the Temple workmen with the aid of the ring.

Josephus notifies us about a ring which was placed in the nostrils of a man during an exorcism. The ring in the TSol functionally and structurally resembles the one mentioned by Josephus. Functionally, both rings are used in controlling demons, and structurally, both have seals on them. There are significant differences, however, about the seals and the way the rings were used. While Josephus is silent about the seal on the ring most manuscripts of the TSol intimate to some form of description on the seal of Solomon's ring.[36] Recension B (MSS PQ) mentions a pentalpha, a device cut into the bezel of

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and T[r] contain the words λέων Σαβαὼθ (lion Sabaoth) inscribed on the seal. See Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon" JSJ 19 (1988): 23-26, and The Lion Becomes a Man: Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition (SBLDS 81; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

[34] The word appears at least 16 times in the Testament (1: 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; 2: 5 (L), 9; 3: 1, 3; 5: 11; 7: 3, 8; 8: 12; 10: 6-8; 12: 4; 14:2; 15: 8: 16: 6, 7; 22: 10, 13). The word "seal" appears to be used synonymously with "ring" in some places (1:7; 2: 9); and σφραγίς appears to be used for both seals and signet rings in post-biblical literature. See N. Avigad, "Seal, Seals," EncJud 14:1072-81.

[35] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 49.

the ring; while recension A (MSS HIL) including MSS V^r and T^r attest to inscription in the form of words. [37] McCown, however, intimates that if there was an original statement regarding the inscription of the ring the editors must have removed it. [38]

Incidentally, the link between the properties of stones and medicinal roots in Josephus' discussion of the Essenes (J.W. 2.136) is reminiscent of the connection between the healing properties of some plants[39] and stones in the TSol. The writing on ivy leaves thwarts the spirit that causes tonsillitis (18:37); and the seeds of laurel has similar effect on the spirit, Rhyx Anoster (18:33). In 1:3 of recension C a healing stone is used together with ivy.

Josephus' account demonstrates the form of exorcism that was present in his time. It is interesting to note his graphic description of this incident. The ring was placed in contact with the nose of the possessed and it was through the smelling of the roots contained under the seal of the ring that Eleazar was able to draw out the demon through the nostrils after the name of Solomon was mentioned followed by the reciting of Solomon's incantations. The TSol depicts the manner in which the ring was used in at least two places, and in these instances the method employed in the TSol is dissimilar to what we find in Josephus. Further, nowhere in the TSol was a ring used for exorcising a

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[36] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 23-25.
[37] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 100*; on V^r and T^r see 24-25.HI and V^r begin with "O Lord our God," then "lion Sabaoth" followed by a series of Semitic-sounding names, the voces magicae.
[38] Ibid., 49.
[39] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 22-23. He highlights seven parallels between "Solomon's trance inducing spell" found in the "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris" and what we have in the TSol. One of these parallels is the sympathetic and prophylactic presence

demon. The ring was primarily used for thwarting and not exorcising demons from the possessed.

Although Josephus tells us where the ring was placed on the possessed he does not tell us how this was done. The TSol informs us that the ring was flung unto the chest of the demon by Solomon or a medium and then the latter shouts, "Come! Solomon summons you!"(TSol 1:9, 11; 3:3). The manner the ring was used in the TSol is not consistent throughout in the TSol. When the medium, the lad or a demon uses the ring it was thrown at the chest of the demon but when Solomon uses the ring he stretches out his hand and put the ring against the chest of the demon (TSol 9.3). Jackson has however argued that the ring was not flung or thrown into the chest as some translations suggest but rather the possessor of the ring lunges out and press the ring against the demon's chest.[40] This method is consonant with Solomon's activity in TSol 9.3. One, however, wonders how this was achieved with a demon like Ornias, who appears like flaming fire. One thing is certainly clear, the notion of having a medium (Eleazar in Josephus; the lad or Ornias in the TSol); and putting a ring to part of the body of the possessed or the demon is apparent in both the TSol and Josephus' account. It is also worth noting that after the ring was placed on the chest of the demon, the medium then orders him to come because Solomon calls him. Similarly, Josephus tells us that Eleazar after mentioning Solomon and reciting the incantations he adjures the demon never to return again. What became of

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of certain plants. For the seven elements vide infra, note 47. See Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots," Magika Hiera, 138-74.

this powerful ring after Solomon's downfall we are not told in the TSol because by the time we get to TSol 23 the ring had curiously disappeared from the scene.

Although the ring motif is shared by both the TSol and Josephus' discussion on Solomon; this motif is not unique to both since there are other references to magical rings in other documents.[41] For example, an interesting story[42] we find in Plato's work, "The Republic," (Book II 359c –360b)[43] appears to attest to a magical ring tradition. This is supposed to have been written about 370 BCE. He tells us about Gyges, the shepherd who found a gold ring on the finger of a dead body lying in a chasm. He took the ring and when he manipulated the collet of the ring he was able to appear and disappear. The close association between the root and ring motifs clearly attested in Josephus cannot be ascertained in the TSol. Furthermore, the ring in the TSol is not indispensable. This motif will appear again in my discussion of the rabbinic texts.

II. Solomon and the Demons

The TSol bears witness to Solomon's power over the demons as a proof of the wisdom of God granted to him (cf. 3:5; 4:11; 22:3; and 24:3-4). In the introductory verse of the title of the TSol we are instructed that Solomon is portrayed as the one who "subdued" all the spirits of the air, of the earth and

[40] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 26-27. Jackson argues that the words use in 1:9, 11; 3:3; 9:3 convey the meaning, "to lunge and press" the ring against the demon's chest.
[41] PGM IV 3041 attests to the seal of Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah.
[42] Professor Kenneth Dover (now retired) of the School of Ancient Greek and Latin (University of St Andrews) brought this to my attention.

under the earth.[44] Throughout the Testament our author attempts to make this clear to his readers. Solomon's response in successfully capturing Beelzeboul links Solomon's wisdom and his power over demons.[45] Solomon's power over the demonic world is also expressed in Adarkes' letter in chapter 22. In what way does Solomon's power over demons relate to his wisdom and understanding? This connection can be viewed in three ways. Firstly, the strategy Solomon employs in capturing the demons. Secondly, the harnessing of the different demons to assist him in building and beautifying the Temple; only Solomon could do this. Thirdly, as a result of this unique experience with the spirits and demons a host of things were revealed to him about their workings: how they are thwarted and their activities. In this operation he must have acquired a depth and wealth of understanding of the workings of demons. His insight into the crafty schemes of his demonic captives leaves us no surprise that he became an expert in demonology. The Testament was to be a vade mecum to its inheritors. Josephus remarks that the successful exorcisms by Eleazar clearly established Solomon's wisdom and understanding (σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσις); similarly, Adarkes' comment in TSol 22:1 links Solomon's wisdom (σοφίαν) and understanding (σύνεσις) with his power over demons.

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[43] The Republic Books I – V. (trans. Paul Shorey; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1930).

[44] The attestation of MSS P and Q identifies "the spirits of the earth, air and under the earth," (ὑπέταξεν πάντων ἀερίων ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων πνευμάτων) with demons. See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 98*.

[45] See my discussion on the Wisdom of Solomon.

III. A Formal Analysis

I will attempt to use a formal analysis[46] to compare the magical praxis (rituals for gaining power) of Josephus with the TSol. The only useful story in the TSol that is worth mentioning in comparing structural elements between the TSol and Josephus is the incident of Solomon's master craftsman in the beginning of the TSol (1:3) appearing only in the late recension C (MS V, W). Jackson in his attempt to draw parallels between this story and certain texts in the Greek Magical Papyri (PGM IV 850-929) list seven elements[47] common to both. I shall look at four of these elements which are present in the text below: (a) the function of a medium; (b) the use of incantatory formulae; (c) invocation of holy names; and (d) the sympathetic and prophylactic use of plants. The text reads:

> Then one day King Solomon stretched out his hands towards heaven and said "God of gods and alone King of kings, reveal to me the boy's complete torment for the sake of your fearful and all-holy name." Then a voice came saying, 'speak as follows into the right ear of the boy: "Daphon[48], Magata, Palipoul." Then write these words on a piece of paper of parchment made from an unborn animal. Commit it to fire and burn it up, holding also in your hand the plant called ivy and a healing stone; and in the fifth hour of the night, question the boy, and he will tell you everything.' When he heard this thing and performed them to the letter, Solomon questioned the boy.[49]

In addition to the invocation of holy names (the name of God) there is the whispering of incantatory formulae into the ear of the possessed in

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[46] Attempts have been made to compare Josephus' exorcism narrative with other miracle stories, especially of the NT. The works of Robert W. Funk and Gerd Theisen have been useful in this regard. See Theissen, The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982; Robert W. Funk "The Form of the New Testament Healing Miracle Story," Semeia 12 (1978): 57-96.

[47] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 22-23. The elements are: (a) the acquisition of esoteric knowledge; (b) through the revelation of a god; (c) the role of the medium; (d) whispering of incantatory formulae into the ears by the magician; (e) a ritual involving the invocation of holy names (f) the hands outstretched to heaven; (g) in conjunction with the use of sympathetic and prophylactic use of certain plants.

[48] Jackson prefers "Daphnon" to Duling's reading of "Daphon;" "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 23.

[49] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," OTP 1:961, note 1h.

conjunction with the sympathetic and prophylactic presence of certain plants. These appear to be crucial elements in the magical praxis depicted in the text above. The emphasis on the importance of a medium should not be underestimated. In Josephus, Eleazar performs the role of the medium, and the uttering of incantations seems to have the desired effect on the possessed. Josephus speaks unreservedly of the apotropaic properties of roots in the magical praxis but there is no indication that the incantations were uttered in the ear of the possessed.

The mention of Solomon's name together with incantations composed by him as described in Josephus appears to play an important part of the exorcistic ritual performed by Eleazar. What is the significance of Solomon's name in Eleazar's praxis? The text does not appear to suggest that Solomon's name was invoked and neither was the demon cast out in the name of Solomon. Some may construe Greek verb μιμνήσκω to mean "invoke." Although the word conveys a range of meanings which includes "recalled to memory," "put in mind," "remember," "remind oneself," and "make mention of" I do not get the impression that the term conveys the idea " to invoke." Eleazar must have thought of Solomon's composition (call to mind) rather than actually invoking his name before reciting of the incantations.

There is a distinction between the whispering of an incantatory formulae and the invocation of holy name(s). For example, Asmodeus was adjured by the name of the Lord Sabaoth (5.9) while Beelzebul is thwarted by the great

name, "the Eloi" [the Almighty God] (6:8).[50] The invocation of three names causes Lix Tetrax to exercise his healing power (7:6). The Lion shaped demon is thwarted by the name of the great God Most High (11:6). In TSol 18 several demons are thwarted when certain names or phrases are said. One could very well interpret the calling of Solomon's name, for example in TSol 1: 9, 11, as an invocation since it appears to have the powerful thwarting effect on demons. But this does not seem to be the case in the TSol. It is the ring (1:12) that does the trick. The demon, Ornias screamed[51] not on hearing Solomon's name but after the ring was in contact with his chest (1:12 cf. 3:1-3). Hull observes that an invocation, after a proper beginning like this: "I call upon you," "I summon you," "come to me," "help me," is followed by the name of the Lord but often, as Hull intimates, the name is omitted from papyrus either to guard its secret power or make allowance for the magician to insert the name of his choice.[52] Could this be the same phenomenon in 1:9,11 and 3.3 where we have a beginning but the name of God does not follow?[53] This might have influenced Conybeare's inclusion of "in the name of God" in 1.9.

There is mention of his ring but the invocation of Solomon's name is still unclear. Furthermore, the word "adjure" (ὁρκίζω)[54] a technical term used in

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[50] The number 644 is connected with the name Emmanouel in MS P. See Duling, OTP 1:955.MS N reads τον Ἐλωὶ τὸ μέγα ὀνομα

[51] Κραύγαζω seems to be a common response by demons when they are exorcised.

[52] Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition , 4.

[53] For the Greek text see McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 11*.

[54] Cf. TSol 5:9; 6:8; 11:6; 18:20, 31, 33, and 25:8. This is a common term is used in exorcism mentioned in extra biblical material although it occurs once in Mark (5:7). See H. C. Kee "The Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories," NTS 14 (1967-8): 232-46. In Acts 19:13 the name of Jesus is called upon in exorcism: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. Later the term ὁρκίζω is used: I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preached.
(Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει). In Mark 5:7 the word for adjure appears again in a context of exorcism: "and crying out with a loud voice," he says, "What

exorcism invariably appears in association with a holy name or the invocation of names other than God. Of course, there are instances in the TSol in which the invocation of holy names is connected with the term "adjure": TSol 5.9; 6.8; and 11.6 but again the name of Solomon does not occur in such contexts. There is no evidence from either Josephus' report of Eleazar's miracle or the TSol to support the notion that Solomon's name was invoked in any of the exorcistic praxis.

The TSol does not relate any incident of exorcism such as we find in Josephus because the TSol is intended to be a manual and not a document containing narratives of exorcisms. MS L continues with overtones of exorcism in 1:2. This passage is connected with the story mentioned earlier about Solomon's craftsman, the lad, who was constantly harassed by the demon, Ornias at dusk:[55]

> The evil spirit would come and [cry out. Then the reader spoke for the third time of the one who was talking loudly over the crowded room; then] take the finger of the boy's right hand . . .

The interpolation (which is in parentheses) in MS L is said to be the work of a medieval magician for practical use in his profession to expel demons.[56] Jackson who draws attention to the significance of this particular interpolation points out the struggle between the demon and the exorcist[57] which I have identified as the motif of resistance. Jackson has made a couple of suggestions on Duling's translation to the effect that instead of following

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have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God?" "I adjure thee by God," (καὶ κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν, μή με βασανίσῃς). The term also appears in other magical texts such as PGM 1. 305-315; 340-45; III.226; IV. 345,360,398; IV. 1485; and LXI. 28.

[55] Duling's translation in note "1d."

[56] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 13-15. Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 21-22.

Duling's "the reader spoke for the third time of the one who was talking loudly over the crowded room" for the Greek λέγει ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ τρίτου μεγαλόφωνος ἐπάνου τοῦ ὀχλουμένου he has "the reader speaks three times in a loud voice over the sufferer."[58] Jackson does have a valid point here in construing the Greek ὀχλουμένου to fit the context of exorcism since this word carries the meaning of "to be disturbed or moved." And the usage in Acts 5:16 describes a similar predicament of the possessed (ὀχλέω).[59]

In TSol 1:11[60] it is reported that a demon screamed after the ring was in contact with his chest. In Josephus' account, there is no mention of screams or obvious signs of demonic struggle. Josephus nonetheless tells us that the man fell down and Eleazar adjured him never to come back. This form of resistance by the demon may be regarded as implicit. The element of struggle, however, is much clearer in Josephus' account of David's driving out the spirits which tormented Saul by playing on his harp and singing songs.[61] It must be said however that the motif of resistance is not unique to Josephus and the TSol since this is a common phenomenon in other exorcisms.

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[57] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 20-22.
[58] Jackson conjecture is based on the fact that the word ὀχλεισθαι is an ancient technical term for describing demonic possession which is also found in Acts 5:16. The text fits in with exorcism in Mark 1:23; 26, 3:11; 5:7; 9:26 (Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 22-23). The translation "over the sufferer/or the possessed" not as Duling suggests "over the crowded room" is a result of the translation of ἐπανου του ὀχλουμενου. Demons normally scream when expelled from the possessed. See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 7* for the Greek text.
[59] Cf. Luke 6:18 (ἐνοχλέω) and Tob 6:8.
[60] This verse is equivalent to v. 12 of McCown's Greek text.
[61] Ant. 6. 166-69 cf. 1Sam 16:14-23; see Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's Antiquitates Judaicae 8.42-49," HTR 78 (1985): 4-5.

Furthermore, the TSol is unlike Josephus in its use of what appears to be an exorcistic liturgical formula, ἀναχωρεῶ. The term means "retire" or "withdraw" and is translated "retreat" in Duling's translation. This word occurs at least thirty times in TSol 18, and appears to be a technical term used for expelling demons. In the TSol the term it is accompanied by εὐθὺς (immediately), and the expression εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ follows after the demon has stated his activity and thwarting angel. For example, 18: 5 reads:

ὡς μόνον ἀκούσω· Μιχαήλ ἔγκλεισον Ῥύαξ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. As soon as the angel's name is invoked the demon retreats immediately. The word is not only absent in Josephus' exorcistic accounts but is also missing in the NT. The word occurs in lines 5, 23 and 45 in a Christian text in PGM (P.10).[62] R. Kotansky intimates that ἀναχωρῶ seems to be "restricted to liturgical, exorcistic texts attributed to certain patristic writers."[63]

Campbell Bonner[64] commenting on the modus operandi of exorcists suggests that when the demon is reluctant to leave the possessed, the exorcist compels the demon to do one of three things: (1) to speak in answer to the operator's conjurations; (2) to tell his name or at least his nature and his evil works; or (3) to give a visible proof (this could be in the form of some violent action) that he has left the body of the victim. I shall now pay special attention to the second and third techniques of the exorcist modus operandi. The second command of calling the demon and enquiring about his name

[62] K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri (vol. 2; trans.and ed., Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973-74), 218-19. These texts are on pages 209-232.
[63] R. Kotansky, The Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Copper and Bronze *Lamellae*. Part I Published Texts of Known Provenance (Papyrologica Coloniensia 22/1; Herstellang, Germany: Westdeutsher Verlag, 1994), 174, 175 –76.
[64] Campbell Bonner, "Technique of Exorcism" HTR 36: (1943): 39-49.

and the nature of his work is a dominant feature in the structure of the TSol as I have earlier intimated. The demon is sometimes allowed to speak but only briefly (TSol 6.11).[65] This mode of action may at times lead to an argument between the exorcist and the demon as the case may be in the TSol (5.2 and 13.2). In the TSol the examination of the demons are narrated in detail. There is no corresponding attestation of this technique in the Eleazar's miracle.

The third technique, where the magician/ exorcist demands for a sign in order to show that the demon has left the patient,[66] is clearly demonstrated in Eleazar's technique. In the passage Eleazar places a vessel of water for the demon to overturn as a means of showing that he had been expelled. The TSol does not have any such occurrence for the simple fact that there is no real exorcism in this document. However, one may find only faint echoes that show that demon has been successfully subjugated in 22:15:

> To prove that the demon had been overcome, the boy remained three days and, (when) the spirit did not blow any longer, the Arabs concluded that he had really trapped the spirit.

And later on the demon demonstrated his power in 22:17-18:

> The following day I, Solomon, went into the Temple (for) I was very worried about the cornerstone, (suddenly,) the flask got up, walked for seven steps, and fell down on its mouth before me. I was amazed that (even though the demon was entrapped in) the flask, he had power to walk around, . . .

In the second passage (22:17-18) we are presented with a sign that the demon has been overcome but this time it is the demonstration of his power to walk around while still imprisoned in a flask.

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[65] Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition, 67.
[66] See Bonner, The Violence of Departing Demons," HTR 37 (1944): 334-36.

These techniques further indicate that the TSol and Josephus comment are dissimilar in terms of the modus operandi of the exorcist. This phenomenon of demonstrating that the demon has left the possessed appears to be a common motif in other magic traditions. There is evidence for these in the parallels between Eleazar's miracle and exorcism illustrated in the work, "The Life of Apollonius of Tyana."[67]

Although Solomon's reputation concerning his power over demons as a demonstration of his wisdom and understanding par excellence is shared in both Josephus' and the TSol's characterisations of the king, the technique of exorcism may show some degree of contact especially when we consider the variant readings of MS L, V and W but these elements are too general for one to establish a specific connection between these two. The term ἀναχωρῶ used for expelling demons occurs only in the TSol. The formal analysis does show some parallels but again the vagueness and applicability to other magical traditions precludes any specific or unique connection. The presence of magical elements within the exorcist tradition, that is, the use of magical means (ring, herbs etc.) in the exorcistic praxis, is not particularly unique to both documents for one to conclude that Eleazar knew a form of the TSol or that the TSol knew Josephus.

[67] Philostr. Vit Apoll 3.38. (This is a third century CE document). See also Craig A. Evans, "Excursus Two: Jesus and Apollonius of Tyana," in Jesus and His Contemporaries (AGJU 25; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 245-50. In discussing exorcism as one of one of the four categories of the Gospel miracle stories A. Clark Wire has considered motifs such as struggle, demonic threat, threat to destroy lives, violence and defensiveness in "The Structure of the Gospel Miracle Stories and their Tellers," Semeia 11 (1978): 83-112. See Duling, "The Eleazar

The Temple Building

The Jewish Antiquities

Besides the aforementioned literary productivity of Solomon there were other things that Solomon excelled in; one of these was his ability to construct the Temple of God. The account of the Temple building according to Josephus (Ant. 8. 59-131) is prefaced briefly with David's contribution and then the rest of the account revolves around Solomon. When compared to the biblical text, Josephus seems to dedicate quite a space to the elaborate detail of the Temple. I shall only focus on the relevant structures which are mentioned in the TSol.

Josephus seems to be meticulous with the dimensions and numbers; and when compared with the biblical text Josephus has exaggerated his figures. He stresses the importance of the Temple at the expense of the palace (Ant. 8:100-168). He refers to the stonecutters who were hired and were ordered to hew stones and fit them together in the mountain for the Temple foundation (Ant. 8.60). Further on, Josephus' comment shows his admiration for the completed work and the extraordinary appearance of the Temple when he states:

> And the whole construction of the temple was carried out with great skill by means of stones cut out fine and laid so neatly and smoothly that to the beholder there appeared no sign of the use of mallets or other work-tools, but all the material seemed to have fitted itself together naturally without the use of things, so that their fitting seemed to have come about of itself rather than through the force of tools. (Ant. 8.69).

Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's Antiquitates Judaicae 8.42-49," 5-6.

The passage clearly resonates the biblical passage in 1 Kgs 7:3 (Evv) although very freely. An account lacking in our extant biblical text mentioned by Josephus in Ant 8: 64 is the Temple roof made of white marble (λευκοῦ λίθου). With reference to the furnishings in the inside of the Temple Josephus informs us in Ant. 8.79 about the θάλασσαν χαλκῆν (bronze sea). The LXX in 3 Kgdms (7:10) has only θάλασσαν although codices Vaticanus (B) and the proto Lucianic (L) have χύτης (metal-caster) in conjunction with θάλασσαν. The MT has "sea of cast metal" or "molten sea" in 7:23 (7:23 Evv). Josephus also mentions the vessels of bronze, gold and silver (Ant. 8. 88-90).

The TSol

A general observation suggests that although one of the central motifs in the TSol is the Temple building there is not much said about the precise details of the various structural components such as those we find in Josephus' account. The TSol focuses on actual building activities, and in addition, the author gives us a glimpse of the inner sanctum. The work in the Temple, unlike in Josephus' account, is a result of the coordinated efforts of human workmen and demons, all of which was orchestrated by King Solomon. The TSol is silent about the use of iron tools and about the cutting out of structures in the mountains and then bringing them down to Jerusalem to be fitted. The reference about the roof of white marble is not in the TSol, however, we have several instances when a demon was instructed to cut marble (μάρμαρον) for the building project (6:9, 11; 10:10 and 14:8). Incidentally, the Greek phrase λευκοῦ λίθου utilised by Josephus with reference to a Temple structure is absent in the TSol.

In Chapter 21 we have a closer glimpse of the inner sanctuary:

> (3) She also saw the silver, bronze, and gold vessels and bases of the pillars entwined with bronze wrought in the pattern of a chain. (4) Finally, she saw the Bronze sea (θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν) which was supported by thirty-six bulls. And all were busy working in the Temple.

Here a detailed analysis is given on what the Queen of the South saw of the Temple. Unlike Josephus' record, a detailed account of figures was given only twice (the two-hundred gems glittering from the lamps and the thirty-six bulls supporting the Bronze Sea). Sheba had the privilege to see the inside of the Temple, where she saw the silver, bronze and gold vessels. The "Bronze Sea" which is supported by twelve oxen in the biblical account is described in TSol to be supported by thirty-six bulls. The TSol happens to use the same technical term χαλκῆν used by Josephus without the definite article. There is no mention of bronze vessels in either 1 Kings or 2 Chronicles but like Josephus the TSol recounts vessels of silver, gold and bronze.

Arbitrations by Solomon

The Jewish Antiquities

Josephus presents us with a story demonstrating Solomon's sagacity in his arbitration between two prostitutes who were quarrelling over a baby. His account below is modelled on the famous biblical narrative found only in 1 Kgs 3:16-28 (Ant. 8.26-64).[68] Josephus' account is not so much different from the biblical tradition except for some minor modifications in an attempt to exaggerate Solomon's wisdom and prudence as evident in his judicial skills. This incident according to Josephus was a great sign and proof of Solomon's prudence and wisdom to the people who witnessed Solomon's judicial savoir-

faire. In order to understand the dynamics of this story I have decided to reproduce most of the lengthy narrative below:

> Now in the these days a difficult case (κρίσις) was brought before him, for which it was troublesome to find a solution. I have thought it necessary to explain the matter about which the suit happened to be, in order that my readers may have an idea of the difficulty of the case (κρίσεως) and that those who are involved in such matters may take an example from the king's sagacity so as to be able to give a ready opinion on questions at issue. Two women who lived as harlots came before him and she who seemed to be the injured one first began to speak, saying, "I, O King, live with this woman in the same room, and it so happened that we both gave birth on the same day and at the same hour to male children. But on the third day this woman by sleeping on her child caused its death, and she took my child from my lap and carried it over to her side and then laid the dead child in my arms as I slept. And in the morning when I wished to give the breast to the child, I did not find my son but I saw this woman's dead child lying beside me, for I looked at it carefully and recognised whose it was. I therefore demanded my son back, and, as I have not obtained him, I have come to appeal to you, my lord, for help; for, contemptuously relying on the fact that we were alone and that she has no one to fear who can convict her, she stubbornly persists in he denial." After she had spoken the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to these statements. And she denied having done this thing, saying that it was her child that was alive, while her adversary's was the dead one. And when no could see what judgement to give, but all were mentally blinded, as by a riddle, in finding a solution, the king alone devised the following plan: he ordered both the dead and the living child to be brought, and then sent for one of the bodyguard and ordered him to draw his sword and cut both children in half, in order that either woman might take half of the dead child and half of the living child. Thereupon all the people secretly made fun of the king as of a boy. But meanwhile the woman who had demanded the child and was its true mother cried out that they should not do this but should give the child over to the other woman as if it were hers, for she would be content to have it alive and only look at it, even if it should seem to be another's while the other woman prepared to see it divided and even asked that she herself be put to torture. Thereupon, the king recognising that the words of either were prompted by her true sentiments, adjudged the child to the one who cried out, holding that she was really its mother, and condemned the other for her wickedness both in having killed her own son and in being anxious to see her friend's child destroyed. This the multitude considered a great sign and proof of the king's prudence and wisdom (φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας), and from that day on they hearkened to him as to one possessed of a godlike understanding (θείαν δίανοιαν). (Ant 8. 26-64)

[68] Feldman, "Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon," 72, 85-86.

Josephus' version of the story above portrays a high view of King Solomon's wisdom. His technique in fashioning the biblical story is unique. He does this in order to accentuate Solomon's judicial acumen. First of all he makes the case to seem very difficult. How did he accomplish this? There are at least four elements in the story which support this notion: (a) In the first two sentences of the above passage we are informed that the case was difficult and it was troublesome to find a solution. Incidentally, this notion of the difficulty of the case is absent in the biblical text. (b) The plaintiff who first spoke persuasively is described by Josephus as the one who "seemed to be the injured one." It must have been difficult to tell whether or not she was guilty. (c) We were also told that both babies were born on the same day and at the same hour. The biblical text (1 Kings 3:16-28) informs us that one of the babies was born three days after the birth of the first. (d) Josephus tells us that the people (referring to those who witnessed the proceedings) could not tell the verdict because they were mentally blind.

Secondly, the contrast between the people's reaction and Solomon's course of action is quite distinct. Their judicial ineptitude is contrasted with Solomon's action in being the "only one" to devise a solution. And when he devised one the people made fun of him as of a boy. It is in this irony that Solomon's judicial prowess emerges. For we see that Solomon's solution worked, and the very people who laughed at him acknowledged the king's prudence and

wisdom. They saw him as one who possessed a godlike mind (θείαν δίανοιαν).[69]

The TSol

Not only does the TSol lack the story mentioned in Josephus and the biblical tradition, it records a story not found anywhere in the biblical tradition. It is a record of an arbitration between two males: an elderly man and his son. The TSol may faintly resemble Josephus' account in terms of structural elements and the judgement motif otherwise there are no other points of contact. The TSol's account of the conflict between the elderly man, one of his artisans, who was working in the construction of the Temple, and his son is quite peculiar for a number of reasons. This story as it appears in the TSol, and its relation to the whole of the TSol is rather ambiguous. The episode is sandwiched between two chapters (19 and 21) which relate the story of Sheba, the Queen of the South. Even in its immediate context it is hard to establish a thematic connection. Furthermore, as we shall see, although the pericope may be indirectly connected with the Temple construction, since the old man was one of Solomon's artisans, the judgement motif is not so obvious. Moreover, the story has a demonological slant to it:

> (1) Now it happened that one of the artisans, an aged[70] man, threw himself down before me, saying, "King Solomon, son of David, have

[69] The expression θείαν διάνοιαν has been interpreted by L. Bieler to imply that Solomon was a Theios Aner (god-man). See L. Bieler, Theios Aner: das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum (2 vols; Darmstadt: Wissenschaffliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), especially, 1.18f. Carl R. Holladay denies any attempt by Josephus to deify Solomon or other biblical characters to a super-human status in his reinterpretation of Solomon in "contemporary categories." See Holladay, Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the use of this Category in New Testament Christology (SBLDS 40. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1971), 77-79. See also Eugene V. Gallagher, Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus (SBDLS 64. Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) and David L. Tiede, The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker (SBLDS 1; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972). Only Bieler presents a skeptical view of the "divine-man" category.

> mercy on me, an elderly man." I said to him, "tell me, old man what do you want." (2) He replied, " I beg you king. I have a son, my only son, and every day he does terrible violent things to me, striking me in the face and head and threatening to send me to a terrible death. Because he did this, I came forward (to request) a favour---that you will avenge (ἐκδικησης) me." (3) When I heard these things I commanded his son to be brought before me. When he came I said to him, "Do you admit to this?" (4) He replied, " I did not become so filled with rage, King that I struck my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king for it is not right to pay attention to such a story and (to his) distress." (5)Therefore, when I, Solomon, heard the young man, I summoned the elderly man to come and reconsider. But he did not want (to come) and said, "Let him be put to death."

The plea to Solomon for help in the aforementioned passage mirrors Josephus and the biblical texts. In Josephus (vide supra Ant. 8. 29-30) the plaintiff approaches Solomon asking for help in a difficult situation. Similarly, the elderly man here who appeals to Solomon' mercy presents his case appealing to King Solomon in a similar fashion. The old man, however, was not completely innocent, as he appeared to be since later on he intended to do away with his son (20:5, 7). Solomon then calls the defendant who happens to be the plaintiff's son to give account of the charges brought against him. He approaches the bench, and then uses this opportunity to refute his father's charges. Similarly, the other prostitute in Josephus' report attempt to refute the charges brought against her. Jackson finds parallel between MS D where both father and son fulminate at each other (4:1-3)[71] with the biblical story when the two prostitutes squabbled over the child.[72]

Duling's translation is a combination of two recensions which present two different versions of the son's defence. In recension A which Jackson thinks is more plausible and interesting the boy does not deny the charges of his

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[70] Duling's translation of γηραιὸς to mean "dignified" is incorrect.
[71] see McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 92*.

father but merely appeals to his temporary insanity: "I was so filled with exasperation (ἀπονία) as to shake my father with my hand. Have mercy on me, O king, for it is impious (even) to hear such a tale of abuse."[73] From a judicial perspective one can infer that Solomon's action toward reconciling both father and son (20:9) was a wise decision since neither was completely innocent. The development of the story in the TSol may indicate the inherent difficulty of the case since both father and son were guilty.

As noted above the story progresses with a demonological slant lacking in Josephus' arbitration narrative:

> (6) Then, noticing that the demon Ornias was laughing, I became very angry that he would laugh in my presence. Dismissing the young man, I ordered Ornias to come out and I said to him. . .(7) He replied, "I beg you, King; I did not laugh because of you, but because of the wretched old man and the miserable young man, his son because after three days he will die. See, the old man has the intent of doing away with him in an evil manner."

We are informed about the presence of the demon, Ornias. While the people who were at the trial according Josephus responded (at Solomon's solution to a difficult case) by making fun of Solomon secretly, the author of the TSol tells us that Ornias' laughed during the trial. The demon's reason for his seemingly inappropriate behaviour connects the judgement motif with a type of esoteric knowledge—the demon's prescience, as Ornias was to tell Solomon that the elderly man's son would die after three days. The number "three" may be significant in both texts. In Josephus the child died on the third day while in the TSol the man's son would die in three days time.

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[72] Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 55.
[73] Ibid.

Josephus' account of Solomon's arbitration like the TSol involves two people while the latter records two males, Josephus speaks of two females. The impression I get is that both stories were intended to illustrate Solomon's judicial wisdom. In the TSol Solomon's wisdom was reinforced by Ornias' prescience. The son will die and the father had evil intention towards his son hence Solomon's discretion in his judgement in attempting to reconcile two family members was a brilliant idea. Solomon did not make any hasty decision but gave the plaintiff and the defendant some time to resolve their differences. The subtlety of Solomon's wisdom is also exemplified in Solomon's action since both were wrong. In a general way the judgement motif appears in both documents. Although one may take the liberty to interpret the episode as an illustration of Solomon's judicial wisdom, curiously neither of the Greek terms δικαιοσύνη nor its lexeme δικαίωμα used in the LXX appears in the context. The words κρίσις and φρόνησις which appear in Josephus' exposition do not occur in the TSol passage. The word ἐκδικησῃς contained in the old man's appeal was a plea to Solomon for revenge. Although the term may carry a judicial nuance it clearly has negative connotations in this passage.[74] Furthermore, unlike Josephus and the biblical story there is no summation at the end of the narrative to the effect that the audience saw Solomon's judgement as an evidence that he possessed "wisdom from God" (the LXX) or "a godlike understanding."

I must conclude nonetheless that the author(s)/ final redactor (s) of the TSol may have another agenda here. The narrative in the TSol may intend

[74] The LXX uses it in cases on behalf of someone "to procure revenge." See Schrenk, "ἐκδικέω, ἔκδικος, ἐκδικησις," TDNT 2:442-46; and LSJ 1:504.

originally to illustrate Solomon's judicial skills but demonological elements have been subtly incorporated in this judgement scenario. How did Ornias know about the lad's death before it happened? The notion of demonic prescience in connection with Ornias' esoteric knowledge is very much lurking in the background. It seems to me that our author(s)/ redactor(s) might have used this story as a platform for his hidden agenda since the pericope concludes on the note of Ornias' source of esoteric knowledge which was divulged to Solomon (20:11-21) and not on a note on Solomon's arbitration skills.

Sheba, Solomon and the Kings

The Jewish Antiquities

I shall start off with Josephus' account of Sheba's encounter with Solomon (Ant. 8.165-175) before moving on his comments about the kings.

> (165) Now the woman who at that time ruled as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia was thoroughly trained in wisdom and remarkable in other ways, and, when she heard of Solomon's virtue and understanding (ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν), was led to him by a strong desire to see him which arose from the things told daily about his country. (166). . . she decided to go to him; and being very desirous of herself making trial of his wisdom by propounding questions and asking him to solve their difficult meaning, she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and show of wealth. For she brought with her camels laden with gold and various spices and precious stones. And the king received her gladly on her arrival and was studious to please her in all ways in particular by mentally grasping with ease the ingenious problems she set him solving them more quickly than any one expected. (168) But she was amazed at Solomon's wisdom when she realised how extraordinary it was and how much more excellent upon trial than what she heard about it. She especially admired the palace for its beauty and size and, no less, for the arrangement of the building, for in this she saw the great wisdom of the king. (169) But she was more than amazed at the hall called the forest of Libanos and. . . (171) . . . I mean your wisdom and prudence (σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν), and those which kingship gives you, it was by no means a false report that reached us; it indicated a prosperity far below that which I see, now being here. . . . (173)". . . .

> Let us bless God who has so well loved this country and its inhabitants as to make you their king." (174) And, after she had shown by her words how she felt toward the king, she revealed her feelings still more clearly by her gifts, for she gave him twenty talents of gold and an incalculable quantity of spices and precious stones,; and they say that we have the root of the opobalsamon, which our country still bears, as a result of this woman's gift. (175) In return Solomon also presented her with many fine gifts, in particular with those which she selected as most desirable, . . .on the contrary he showed his magnanimity by giving up whatever she asked far more readily than he presented gifts to her of his own choice.

As it has already been noted, Josephus used the biblical tradition as his base. His account is somewhat expanded, details not found in MT and LXX are supplied. There are five points I wish to consider in this passage. The first is to do with the identity of the queen. There is a discrepancy with regards to her identity. The biblical narrative (OT) clearly states she is Queen of Sheba while Josephus has her as the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia. Earlier Josephus identifies her by the name, Nikaule not Sheba (Ant. 8. 158).[75] The notion that Egypt might have been substituted for Sheba in order to cohere with the prevalent view in the Jewish haggadah (Egypt is the land rife with magic and witchcraft) is a plausible one, however, Josephus does not describe her in any negative terms or as a γόης.

In fact, the existence of this female character appears to be denied in the Babylonian Talmud although mentioned in the Targumim. Josephus continues to describe her as one who is "thoroughly trained in wisdom and remarkable in other ways" (σοφίᾳ διαπεπονημένην καὶ τἆλλα θαυμαστὴν). In what other ways she was remarkable Josephus does not elaborate except that the readers are left to conjectures. The other ways certainly do not

[75] Josephus might be drawing from other sources perhaps Greek (Herodotus?) or Ethiopic traditions.

subsume the queen's wisdom since Josephus has already alluded to this in his description of her. Furthermore, she came to see Solomon because she heard of his virtue and understanding and she was led to him by a strong desire. The MT and the LXX again lack this account about her desire to see Solomon. My second point is the manner in which the queen appeared. Josephus here echoes the biblical tradition. We are told that she arrived in Jerusalem in "great splendour and show of wealth" (μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ πλούτου παρασκευῆς) and with camels laden with gold, spices and precious stones (Ant. 8. 166-67).

Thirdly, the queen's purpose of visit was to see whether what was said of Solomon's virtue and understanding (ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν)[76] were true. The motifs of virtue and understanding of the king's character were demonstrated in Solomon's interaction with the queen. Josephus gives us a very descriptive account of how Solomon went about solving the problems brought to him and the queen's admiration of Solomon's wisdom evidenced not only in solving the difficult questions but his architectural accomplishments. She admired the palace, the hall —the forest of Libanos and mentions Solomon's prosperity. At the end of the visit she was very impressed and again acknowledged Solomon's wisdom and prudence and his kingly qualities. In view of all this, it seems to me that the overarching motifs of wisdom and virtue feature strategically in this passage and others to come. Both are linked

[76] The combination of both terms appear to indicate one's ability to act with insight, and this may be perceived as practical wisdom, see G. Bertram, "φρήν, ἄφρων, ἀφροσύνη, φρονέω, φρόνημα, φρόνησις, φρόνιμος," TDNT 9:220-35, especially, 229. It seems that the paradigm of virtue (ἀρετήν) is often associated with the philosophers. The term may also be associated with wonder working and miracles. For detailed discussion on "aretalogy," see, Tiede, The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker, 14-

in Josephus' portrayal of Solomon, Sheba and the kings. In Josephus' depiction of Solomon the virtue motif is connected with σοφία (Ant. 8.181, vide infra) and φρόνησιν Ant. 8.165).

The fourth point is the queen's response to what she saw and heard. She was amazed. The Queen responded generously to what she saw with her own eyes. She asked the people to bless God for having Solomon as their king (Ant. 8.173) and presented gifts to him. Josephus tells us she gave Solomon twenty talents of gold and an incalculable quantity of spices, precious stones, and the root of the opobalsamon (Ant. 8. 174-75). Finally, Solomon in turn reciprocated Sheba's generosity. The magnanimity of Solomon is emphasised by Josephus. Josephus then proceeds to follow the order of events in the biblical tradition (1 Kgs 10:23-25) by recording the desire of the kings after the visit of Sheba (Ant. 8.182-86):

> And so glowing a report was circulated through the whole country round about, proclaiming Solomon's virtue and wisdom (ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν), that everywhere the kings desired to see him with their own eyes, not crediting what had been told to them because of its extravagance, and to give further evidence of their regard for him by their costly presents. Accordingly they sent vessels of gold and silver purple garments and many kinds of spices and horses . . .

Josephus appears to be closely following the biblical texts in 1 Kgs 10:23-25 (Evv), 2 Chron 9:22 and 1 Kgs 9:10. The virtue motif appears again in the above passage, and we are told that the kings desired to see Solomon because of his virtue and wisdom (ἀρετὴ καὶ σοφία). The biblical text instead attests to "wisdom and wealth." Josephus does not mention Solomon's wealth together with the king's wisdom in this episode. He seems

29 and 40-73. He has pointed out certain connections between philosophy and the miracle traditions.

to be keen to link virtue with wisdom. Both characteristics inevitably brought wealth to Solomon. Earlier in Ant. 8.53 the King of Tyre Eiromos remarked about Solomon being a wise man and endowed with "every virtue" (πᾶσα ἀρετή). Later on in Ant. 8.141 he contributed gold, silver, wood of cedar and pine to the buildings of Solomon private residences, and here again the kings sent Solomon vessels of gold, silver, spices, horses, chariots and mules. In short, Josephus seems to highlight Solomon's wisdom in his account of the Queen of Sheba, and paints a rather positive picture of her.

The TSol

There are obviously parallels between the TSol and Josephus' retelling of the Solomon-Queen of Sheba episode. The TSol presents an abbreviated version of this biblical narrative when compared to Josephus' grand exposition. The differences between the TSol and Josephus are nonetheless significant. The author of the TSol dedicated two short chapters (19 & 21) to Sheba, Queen of the South. Chapter 19 relates to the influx of the kings who came to see the building of the Temple. The main purpose for the visit as presented in the TSol is to see the Temple structure. Josephus focuses the reader's attention on Solomon's wisdom and virtue. The account that the kings supplied Solomon with gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead and wood in a way echoes Josephus' account. However, the inextricable link between the listed items and the Temple is lacking in Josephus.

The chapter climaxes with the introduction of the queen who was amongst those that came to see the magnificent construction of the Temple:

> And among them Sheba, Queen of the South, who was a witch, came with much understanding (φρόνησις) and bowed down before me. (TSol 19.3)

Firstly, as to her identity, she is identified as "Sheba" and a γόης (witch/ sorceress). The queen of the TSol unlike the biblical tradition (OT) is not only referred to as Sheba but also as the Queen of the South. Josephus identifies her as the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia and one who is remarkable in other ways but does not identify her as a γόης although he uses the term elsewhere to describe the false prophet Theudas (Ant. 20. 97) and the Egyptian false prophets who were regarded as imposters (J.W. 2. 261).[77] Γόης as it stands in its context to describe Sheba in the TSol appears innocuous and does not seem to imply any negative connotation despite the TSol's preoccupation with the subjugation of the demons. In fact the term appears to be connected with Sheba's understanding. It is rather difficult to ascertain what the author's intentions were in describing the queen thus. Geographically, Sheba is said to have come from somewhere in the South. The TSol is not specific as to placing her in a particular country. Is the author of the TSol here alluding to Egypt when he describes the queen as the "Queen of the South" or is he following a tradition similar to the NT which identifies her merely as "Queen of the South?" Perhaps he is following a tradition that lies behind the NT. Furthermore, she offered gifts towards the Temple construction and also had the privilege to see the inner section of the Temple.

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[77] Pagans and Christians seem to use this term to denote lower forms of magic. The term continued to carry a negative connation of fraud and deceit into the fifth century CE. See, G. Luck, "Witches and Sorceress in Classical Literature," in Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome (ed. B. Ankarloo and S. Clark; London: Athlone Press, 1999), 93-58; Fritz Graf, Magic in the Ancient World (trans. Franklin Philip; Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24-28; 33, 46, 49; and Matthew W. Dickie, Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 15. Dickie expresses similar sentiments but states that the distinction between μαγος and γόης is artificial.

Secondly, we are told that she came with much understanding but bowed before King Solomon. Both Josephus and the TSol stress her understanding and wisdom, the latter uses the word φρόνησις while the former σοφίαν. Josephus like the biblical narrative focuses our attention on the material possessions that accompanied her. The account in the TSol is very much a characterisation of the queen.

Thirdly, why did Sheba come to see Solomon? Initially, we read that the foreign dignitaries paid their visit in order to see the Temple building. However, MS P informs us of a different rationale, Sheba came to see Solomon because she had heard of his wisdom:

> . . . bowed down before me to the earth, and because she had heard of my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, in these things also she tested all my wisdom by examination, so much did I instruct her[78] according to the wisdom given to me and all the sons of Israel glorified God.

The wisdom motif parallels Josephus and the biblical narrative. Except for the reading of MS P the wisdom motif is more or less implied in chapter 19. Moreover, MS P reading brings into play both the wisdom and the Temple motifs. As I have already indicated Josephus links ἀρετη with wisdom, a word that keeps recurring in the remarks made by foreign dignitaries about King Solomon. The term is absent in the TSol. We also find that according to MS P that Solomon was tested by Sheba. This again parallels Josephus' comment although this is somewhat exaggerated. Moreover, Josephus does not

[78] Conybeare has "of all love in which he instructed her." I do not find any ground for this translation based on McCown's text.

mention anything about Sheba being instructed by Solomon which both the biblical text and the TSol show.

While the TSol focuses on Sheba's reaction to the Temple, Josephus does not mention the Temple in connection with the queen but instead mentions her in connection with the palace and the hall called the forest of Libanos. She was amazed by both, but more by the hall (Ant. 8:168-69). In the TSol the focus is shifted; the Temple now becomes the object of the queen's amazement. The various constructions: the palace; the hall called Libanos; and the Temple; serve to illustrate one thing —Solomon's wisdom. The mention of the Bronze Sea in chapter 21 of the TSol has also a parallel in Josephus' account (Ant. 8. 79) but Josephus alludes to this in a different context.

The Fourth point is to do with the Sheba's response, the queen paid homage because of Solomon's wisdom and she glorified God as a result of this. It must be said that the order is slightly different when compared with Josephus for we read in Josephus that the blessing came at the end after she had tested Solomon and have seen everything. In the TSol she glorified God before testing him and seeing the inner sanctum (TSol 21). In the TSol she was amazed at the construction work and responded accordingly by donating ten thousand copper shekels to the work. Her contribution according to Josephus is different, and it is not stated that it was towards the Temple. There is no mention of spices, opobalsamon root or precious gold from Sheba. Chapter 21 concludes by mentioning what she saw: the Bronze Sea that was supported by thirty six- bulls. The underlying motif here is the Queen

of Sheba's fascination for Solomon's architectural achievements. This is a practical demonstration of Solomon's wisdom. Finally, although Josephus speaks of Solomon reciprocating Sheba's generous contribution the TSol is silent on this matter.

With regards to the five points discussed above on the Queen of Sheba-Solomon saga, there are parallels but only in a general way. The differences are reflected in both the style and content of the different episodes. Both Josephus and the author of the TSol are individually closer to the biblical tradition than to each other. The similarities in motifs and ideas between the two are indicative of an indirect influence due to the fact that both have drawn independently from the same common source, viz, the biblical tradition. The differences may very well be an indication that each has also relied on other form of tradition(s) to subsidised the biblical themes, motifs and stories, and have simultaneously developed these in their own unique way.

Solomon's Dangerous Liaison

The Jewish Antiquities

Josephus gives a detailed and thorough account of the demise of the king in Ant. 8.190-199a. He comments that although Solomon had been the most illustrious of all kings and most beloved by God, and he surpassed those who had ruled before him in understanding and wealth, yet he was not faithful until death (Ant. 8.190). He describes Solomon's liaison with foreign women and his polytheism. Josephus has juxtaposed the biblical narrative (LXX/MT) with his own elaborations and modifications. Three observations are noteworthy.

Firstly, Josephus introduces Solomon's liaison with foreign women with this elaborate notice:

> . . . for he became madly enamoured (ἐκμανείς) of women and indulged in excess passion (τῶν ἀφροδισίων[79]); not satisfied with the women of his own country alone, he married many from foreign nations (ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων) as well. . . (Ant. 8. 191)

The relationship between Solomon and foreign women was not just any kind of relationship; it was one characterized by passion and eroticism. The above passage highlights Solomon's insatiable desire for women especially foreign women against whom the Law of Moses prohibits marrying or having any sexual relationship.[80] The note that Solomon was not satisfied with women of his own country has no biblical equivalent. Furthermore, Josephus utilises the Greek words ἐκμανείς and ἀφροδισίων to accentuate the king's passion. We are informed that Solomon "married many from foreign nations;" while "many" (πολλάς) may reflect the MT's adjective רבות, the use of ἀλλοτρίων may reflect the LXX.[81]

Secondly, such a dangerous liaison could only result in dire consequences about which Josephus proceeds to inform his readers:

> And he began to worship their gods to gratify his wives and his passion for them (τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι). . . But Solomon, carried away by thoughtless pleasure (ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον), disregarded these warnings and took as wives seven hundred women, the daughters of the princes and nobles, . . .and besides these the

[79] The word ἀφροδίσιος is used to describe sexual intercourse; its use here heightens the erotic aspect of Solomon's relationship with these women; see Feldman, "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 501-502. Begg, "Solomon's Apostasy (1 Kgs 11, 1-13) According to Josephus," JSJ 28 (1997): 294-313; especially, 296.

[80] This is an appeal to the Pentateuchal traditions of exogamy as highlighted in Exod 34:11-16 and Deut 7:1-4.

[81] See also Begg, "Solomon's Apostasy (1 Kgs 11, 1-13) According to Josephus," 296-97; the Hebrew רבות (many) has no LXX counterpart.

> daughter of the king of Egypt; and he was soon prevailed upon by them to the extent of imitating their ways, and was forced (ἠναγκάζετο) to give a sign his favour and affection for them by living in accordance with their ancestral customs. As he advanced in age, (προβαινούσης . . . τῆς ἡλικίας) and his reason became in time too feeble (λογισμοῦ . . . ἀσθενοῦντος) to oppose to these the memory of his own country's practices, he showed still greater disrespect for his own God and continued to honour those whom his wives had introduced. But even before this there had been an occasion on which he sinned and went astray in respect of the observance of the laws namely when he made the images of the Bronze bulls underneath the sea which he had set up as an offering and those of the lions around his own throne for in making them he committed an impious act. (Ant.192-196)

He presents already in his account the results of Solomon's foreign alliance. Amongst all the foreign women the author focuses the readers' attention on the daughter of the King of Egypt similar to the rabbinic literature. But we are also told that Solomon was seduced into idolatry. Again the sexual aspect of his relationship with foreign women is implied in the phrase, τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι. Solomon was carried away by "thoughtless pleasure" (ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον); he disregarded the warnings; he took as wives seven hundred women, the daughters of princes and nobles and three hundred concubines. Josephus' account is reminiscent of 1 Kgs 11: 3b-4 on the religious effect of Solomon foreign liaison but he omits the comparison with David we find in 1 Kgs 11: 4, 6. A comparison with the biblical text further reveals Josephus' expansion of the biblical account.

In the LXX Solomon's wives turned away his heart after their gods when he was old.[82] From the passage above Josephus appears to be following closely the MT since he first mentions Solomon's imitating the ways of his wives before his advancing in years (προβαινούσης . . . τῆς ἡλικίας) and weakening reason (λογισμοῦ . . . ἀσθενοῦντος) after which Solomon

continued to exhibit greater disrespect for his own God. It therefore follows that according to Josephus Solomon's heart was already turned away before he grew old. There are many aspects in Josephus not found in either the LXX or the MT. In fact, the impression one gets is that Solomon was not totally responsible. Apart from the enticement by passion Josephus' careful choice of words seems to indicate that Solomon was not totally in control, for he states that Solomon was "prevailed upon" (ἐκρατεῖτο) and "forced" (ἀνακάζω) to live according to the ancestral customs of his wives. However, it must be said that at one time in the past before his dangerous liaison with foreign women Solomon made images. Solomon was not condemned for this in the biblical text (1 Kgs 7:25 // 2 Chron 4:4; 1 Kgs 10: 19-20 // 9:18-19) neither did Josephus in an earlier account (Ant. 8. 80, 140), but now Josephus deems such act as impious. Interestingly, while Josephus has chosen to ignore the specific deities and altars Solomon built to the Ammonite and Moabite gods according to the biblical tradition (11:5-8), he has decided to condemn Solomon for making images.[83]

Thirdly, the final section of Josephus' narrative deals with God's reaction to Solomon's apostasy. The Lord was angry because his heart was turned away from him after twice being the recipient of the theophany in which he was warned. This was followed by God's judgement;

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[82] Josephus' comment is closer to the LXX than the MT which suggests, "other" gods.
[83] Feldman comments that Josephus refers to a lighter sin and was sympathetic to Solomon because at the end Josephus records Solomon's contrition which is absent in the biblical tradition. See Feldman, "Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon," 77. Although Begg makes a point that Solomon was nonetheless culpable because the act for which he was condemned happened before his advanced age and weakening reason. I disagree with him that this accentuates Solomon's impiety. See "Solomon's Apostasy according to Josephus," 303-305 and note 68.

Solomon's kingdom shall be torn from him (1 Kgs 11: 9-10). Josephus' account here resonates the biblical tradition:

> And though he had a most excellent near example of virtue in his father and in the glory which his father was able to leave behind him because of his piety toward God, he did not imitate him --not even after God had twice appeared to him in his sleep and exhorted him to imitate his father and so he died ingloriously. For at once there came a prophet sent by God (ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμφθείς), who told him that his unlawful acts had not escaped Him, ...He would cause this to befall Solomon's son while not taking all the people away from him, would deliver ten tribes to his servant and leave only two to David's grandson for the sake of David himself, because he had loved God and the sake of Jerusalem which he wished to have a temple. When Solomon heard this, he was grieved and sorely troubled at the thought that almost all the good things for which he was envied were changing for the worse. (Ant. 8.196-99)

The biblical account (11:11-13) recounts that the Lord himself reproves Solomon. Josephus, in contrast, introduces the judgement speech with the curious remark that a prophet was sent by God.[84] The mention of a prophet may echo the reference to Jeroboam's encounter with the prophet Ahijah in 1 Kgs 11:29-40 where the prophet told Jeroboam what would become of Solomon's kingdom. Josephus appears to have expatiated components of the biblical judgement speech (11:11-13) into an indirect discourse. Instead of the accusation we have Josephus informing us through the prophet "that his (Solomon's) unlawful acts had not escaped Him (God)." Josephus never mentions the covenant and statutes which Solomon had not kept.

In 11:11b, the biblical text reads, "I will surely tear the (MT, LXX has "your") kingdom from your hand and give it to your servant." Josephus' account reads: "and threatened (referring to the prophet) that he should not long

continue in his course with impunity. . . " (Ant. 8. 197). In reference to 11:11, although God foretold that he will tear away the kingdom from Solomon, we find that the biblical account gives two qualifications to this announcement in the subsequent verses: "I will surely, " but later in v.12 we have a condition "yet for the sake of David." and further on in v. 13 the remark "I will not, however, tear away . . ." There seems to be an inconsistency in these verses in that the kingdom will be torn away from Solomon's son and not from Solomon (v.12); moreover, his son will not lose the whole kingdom, but will be left with "one tribe" for the sake of David and Jerusalem. Josephus' rewording and addition might be an attempt to iron out the apparent ambiguity in the biblical text. He also attempts to correct the figure of 11:13 ("one tribe" = MT and LXX). In Ant. 8. 209 Josephus follows the LXX reading of 1 Kgs 11:32 ("two tribes") against the MT ("one tribe"). Josephus adds again to the biblical tradition that when Solomon heard of the announcement of God's ominous judgement he was grieved and sorely troubled. Is this another of Josephus' ploy to mitigate King Solomon's impiety?

The TSol

Similarly, Solomon's life takes a sudden and unfortunate turn for the worse in the last chapter of the TSol. The demise of a great king, who once excelled all in wisdom and understanding, the one who captured and harnessed the demons, will come to his readers not without surprise. The wise king had become the victim of his own folly. Just in one chapter the entire accomplishment of King Solomon was neutralised by his faux pas as a result of his love for a foreign woman. This chapter introduces Solomon's foreign

[84] Josephus' account has a counterpart in rabbinic tradition (S.'Olam Rab 20).

liaison but then draws the reader's attention to one woman, the Shummanite (Shunammite) from the land of the Jebusites. She became the cause of Solomon's apostasy and subsequent departure of the spirit of God. The chapter could be divided into three smaller sections: (a) Solomon's encounter with the beautiful and irresistible foreign woman (b) Solomon was seduced into idolatry and finally, (c) the consequence of Solomon's action and his response. The first part deals with Solomon's dangerous liaison:

> I now took countless wives from every land and kingdom (Ἔλαβον δὲ γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας καὶ βασιλείας ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός). I also took a journey to the kingdom[85] of the Jebusites and saw a woman in their kingdom, and I loved her very much (ἠγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα)[86] and wanted her to be a wife in my harem. (TSol 26. 1-2)

Solomon's apostasy appears only in 1 Kings. The notion of "taking countless wives from every land and kingdom" is reminiscent of the MT's account of "many foreign women;" and there are also echoes in the use of the term φιλογύναιος (φιλογύνης) and the expression Ἔλαβεν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας to describe Solomon's liaison with foreign women as depicted in the LXX. The TSol utilises the same verb λαμβάνω used by the LXX but not by Josephus to describe Solomon's union with foreign women; and to indicate that they were foreign and many the TSol uses the phrase ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας καὶ βασιλείας (from every land and kingdom) instead of ἀλλοτρίος used by both Josephus and the LXX. Further, unlike the LXX and Josephus the number of women is not given in the TSol; they are merely referred to as γυναῖκας . .ὧν ἦν οὐκ ἀριθμος (literally: wives without number). Could this be a hyperbole by the author to

[85] This should read "king" since the Greek is βασιλέα. See Jackson, "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 60; McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 73*.

match the numbers in the LXX /MT? Moreover, there is no mention of concubines attested in the LXX and Josephus' record.

Besides listing the nationalities of these women, the biblical tradition and Josephus pinpoint the daughter of Pharaoh. This lady became pivotal in Solomon's apostasy and downfall in rabbinic literature. However, the Shummanite lady, who does not appear in the list of the LXX, the MT or Josephus, becomes the focal point for the TSol. Who was this woman? The passage above indicates that she was from the kingdom of the Jebusites. There is no connection whatsoever between Jebusites and a Shunammite in the OT. They were one of the tribes upon whom Solomon levied forced labour (see 1 Kgs 9: 20-21 Evv); his father also had contact with them (see 2 Sam 5:6-9; 1 Chron 11:4-9).[87] Other references point to an ethnic group living in the uplands of Canaan near Jerusalem (see Num 13:29, Josh 11:3 and 18:16, 28). Jebus is usually located in the Benjamite territory. However, there is an exception to this location in a single text where the city is located in Judah. The Israelites lived amongst them but were warned not intermarry with them as this would inevitably lead them to idolatry. The connection goes back to Judg 3:5.[88] As intimated in Jos 18:16 they lived in close vicinity of the Valley of Hinnom[89] which is infamously connected with idolatrous worship intimated in 2 Chr 28:3 and 33:6. In 2 Kgs 23:10 there is an indication of a link between Molech (LXX: Moloch) and the Valley of Hinnom. What I am

[86] This is my translation.
[87] It is said that David captured Jerusalem from the Jebusites.
[88] Stephen A. Reed, "Jebus," ABD 3:652-74.
[89] Duane F. Watson, "Hinnom Valley," ABD 3:202-203.

trying to ascertain is a possible link between the Jebusites and idolatry which may perhaps be connected with Molech worship clearly intimated in the TSol. There is still a missing link in the connection between the Shunammite and the Jebusites as found in the TSol. I agree with McCown that the connection of a Shunammite girl with the fall of Solomon is unique to the TSol.[90] The nearest we can get to linking this girl with Solomon is the reference to the Shunammite woman who was brought to David in his old age (1 Kgs 1:1-4; 15; 2:17-22). The passage in Canticles 6:13 (Evv) where the shulammite is mentioned might have contributed to the TSol's version of events.[91]

My second point is the TSol's description of Solomon's apostasy and idolatry in TSol 26:2-8:

> (2)So I said to their priests, "Give me this Shummanite because I am madly in love with her." They replied, " if you love our daughter, fall down before our gods, the great Raphan and Moloch and take her," (3) However, I did not want to worship (their gods), so I said to them, "I worship no foreign god." (4) But they threatened violence (παρεβιάσαντο) against the maiden, saying, "If you have the opportunity to go to the Kingdom of Solomon, say to him, I will not go to bed with you unless you become like my people and take five locusts and sacrifice them to Raphan and Molech. (5) So because I loved the girl---she was full in bloom and I was out of my senses---I accepted as nothing the custom (of sacrificing) the blood of the locusts. I took them in my hands and sacrificed in the name of Raphan and Molech to idols, and I took the maiden to the palace of my Kingdom.[92] (6) So the spirit of God departed from me and from that day on my words became as idle talk. She convinced me to build temples of idols. (7) As a result I, wretched man that I am, carried out her advice and the glory of God completely departed from me; my spirit was darkened and I became a laughingstock to the idols and demons. (8) For this reason I have written out this, my testament . . .

[90] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, " 64.
[91] See my comments on the Solomonic Corpus.
[92] MS Q reads for the most part of this verse thus:
κἀγὼ οὖν ὁ δόλιος καὶ πανάθλιος, κινουμένου μου πικροῦ καὶ ἀσώτου βέλους τοῦ ἐ ρωτος τῆς κόρης ἔδωκα ἐπίσχυσιν καὶ ἔφερέν μοι πέντε ἀκρίδας .. . (So I crafty and wretched, now that I was moved by the sharp and desperate shaft of love for the girl, I gave my consent (?), and she brought me five grasshoppers, . .). In place of " I . . . pause" in Duling's translation in note 26d reading ἐπίσχεσιν for ἐπίσχυσιν. Jackson, however, has "consent" for ἐπίσχυσιν which he himself questioned since this word is a hapax legomenon. Jackson, Notes on the Testament of Solomon, 60.

The cause of Solomon's downfall in the TSol is a case of passion for a woman he so much desired. This motif of passion that led to Solomon's apostasy is also present in Josephus' analysis. Josephus begins with two words to make this point, ἐκμανεὶς and ἀφροδισίων. Later on in the development of his narrative he uses a series of expressions such as ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον (thoughtless pleasure) and τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι(his pleasure for them). Josephus' skillful utilisation of these expressions conveys to the readers the sexual and erotic dimension of Solomon's relationship with his wives. Similarly, in the TSol it is an irresistible desire that drove the king to idolatry. It is worth noting that the event was not instantaneous but rather a progressive decline. Solomon gradually pushed the boundaries. It started off when he became intoxicated by his passion (ἔρωτος) for the Shummanite according to MSS P and Q.[93] This led Solomon to a state where he was out of his senses (ἀσύνετος)[94] and then subsequently deemed the custom of sacrificing locusts as nothing. The reading of the first part of v. 5 makes an even greater statement of the effect of passion on Solomon: "now that I was pricked by the sharp and desperate shaft of love for the girl." Note that the word for love in MSS P and Q is ἔρος; this word carries the nuance of sexual love. In other words, Solomon was very much ensnared by passion. This notion is intimated in the prophecy of the seventh stoicheia (8:11) who stated that King Solomon would fall because of (desire) ἐπιθυμίαν and this would make him vulnerable to demonic attacks (v. 11).[95]

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[93] Vide supra note 86.
[94] The word means "void of understanding" although Duling has translated it to mean "out of one's senses." Other meanings are "senseless" or "foolish."
[95] Jackson, however, has hinted that 8:11 is indicating that Solomon used his magic power over demons to win the girl of his dreams (see "Notes on the Testament of Solomon," 46-47;

The cumulative effect of Solomon's passion led to the departure of the spirit of God after which the Shummanite woman was able to convince him to build temples to idols. The motifs of "passion," "to be out of one's senses" and the departure of the spirit of God have an important bearing on Solomon's downfall in the TSol. Although Solomon's action in sacrificing locusts in honour of Raphan and Molech was deemed illegitimate it seems that there may be an attempt in the way the chapter is written to mitigate his action. In fact we are told that the Jebusite priests indirectly coerced Solomon since the woman he was very much in love with was intimidated. The TSol echoes a similar idea in Josephus since the latter talks about Solomon being forced (ἀναγκάζω) to give into the customs of his wives. There are differences however between the two accounts. While Josephus intimates that it was the women who manipulated Solomon, the TSol implicates the Jebusites priests. Moreover, in the TSol it was not Solomon who was manipulated but the woman he loved.[96] Solomon's actions perhaps should not be perceived as a willful act or a sudden flagrant and insolent audacity for the law of God.[97] Can a man who has lost his senses and is without the spirit of God be held accountable for his actions? Josephus, as I have intimated, attempt to lessen the gravity of Solomon's sin as he does not mention anything about the altars to the gods of the Moabites and Ammonites or the sacrifice of locusts to Raphan and Molech attested in the TSol. The latter does not allude to the

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this is reminiscent of the story of Sarah and Tobiah in Tobit). "Because of this you are able to fulfil (your) desire, as one most beloved, . ." contra Duling "Because these things affect you, you have desire like a beloved one, . ."

[96] This story is somewhat reminiscent of Samson and the Woman from Timnah in Judges 14.

[97] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 63-64.

making of images, which appears to be pivotal in Josephus' condemnation of Solomon.

Thirdly, the consequence of Solomon's fall is not as dramatic in the biblical or Josephus's account as it is in the TSol. The biblical account informs us that God was displeased with Solomon and that his kingdom would be torn apart. Furthermore, Yahweh raised human "satans" to disturb the peace of Solomon's reign of tranquility (1 Kgs 11:23-25). In TSol 22:4 when King Adarkes wrote to Solomon his words were as follows:
καὶ εἰρηνεύσει πᾶσα Ἀραβία ἐὰν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ταύτην ποιήσεις ἡμῖν ("and all Arabia will be at peace if you do this act of vengeance for us"). The king is here appealing to Solomon to subjugate the wind demon in order that Arabia may experience peace. The implication thus is that as long as Solomon was able to subjugate the demons there was peace and tranquility since demonic presence was unsettling for human beings. One could say the "satans" in the TSol are the demons. Solomon's apostasy in the TSol not only resulted in the departure of the glory of God and a darkened spirit but he became a laughing stock to the idols, and demons he once subjugated.

Although Solomon erred he nonetheless left a legacy behind that proved to be invaluable: a manual to be used against evil spirits and demons. Other MSS[98] bear witness to this in addition to the division of Solomon's kingdom. Josephus' narrative includes the double theophanies, the prophet that came to warn Solomon and his response upon hearing God's judgement are lacking

[98] Duling's translation is based on MSS H and N. See Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," note 26f and McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 121*-22*.

in the TSol. Solomon's response in the TSol was to write the TSol in order to warn his readers of the king's plight so that they might not be overtaken by similar folly.

Again, Josephus' account does resemble that of the TSol's but in a general way. The ideas about the king's liaison with many foreign women; the motifs of passion and coercion, and the consequences of the king's apostasy have faint echoes. The motif of apostasy because of women seems to be a recurring theme in both presentations. This is not unique to Solomon either as we have a similar underlying theme in the depictions of other biblical characters such as David and Samson. There is a significant difference in the way both stories are presented. It is this difference that makes each portrayal special. The TSol emphasises that Solomon fell madly in love with one particular woman, the beautiful Shummanite. The strong connection here between Solomon's fall and the Shummanite is characteristic of the TSol. She was specifically singled out as responsible for Solomon's downfall by the author of the TSol. Unlike the TSol, Josephus does not single out a particular woman who was responsible for the king's fall. Moreover, Solomon's apostate measures as far as Josephus is concerned were not erecting high places to deities or the sacrificing five locusts to Moloch/Moloch and Raphan as recorded by the TSol but rather the making of images: the bronze bulls and the lions around the throne; and disrespecting his God by honouring the practices of his wives. Josephus does not tell us what these practices were.

The consequence of Solomon's apostasy was to do with his kingdom according to Josephus. Solomon was told through a prophet that his kingdom

was to meet a fateful end during the time of his son's reign. In the TSol a spirit/demon prophesied to him about the fate of his kingdom: both the Temple built by demons and Jerusalem would be destroyed (15:8-9). We do not have any intervention of a prophet telling Solomon about his wrongful act or even the presence of the Lord in a dream condemning him. There was no direct judgement upon Solomon. In the TSol a dramatic change took place on Solomon. The spirit of God departed from him consequently and his words became idle talk; his spirit was darkened and he became a laughingstock to the idols and demons. Here Solomon came to the realisation of the consequences of his folly by himself. Furthermore, while the TSol informs us that Solomon responded by writing the testament; Josephus tells us that he grieved and was sorely troubled.

Preliminary Conclusions

The foregoing discussion suggests that there are parallels between TSol and Josephus. One may point out that there is evidence of verbal parallels with respect to the way the technical terminology such as σοφία, φρόνησις, σύνεσις and their lexemes were used of Solomon; and the word χαλκήν to described the Bronze Sea. However, points of contact between the TSol and Josephus are mainly conceptual in terms of motifs and ideas. I have discussed the ring, wisdom, and judgement and the Temple building motifs, Solomon and the demons, exorcism, Solomon, Sheba and the kings, Solomon and foreign women and his demise. With regards to a formal analysis of exorcism the point of contacts are not unique to the TSol and Josephus for one to conclude one was dependent on the other. These

parallels do not point to literary borrowings in any direction. They are rather indicative of an indirect influence between the TSol and Josephus due to independent use of the biblical materials which were modified and further subsidised by other extra-biblical materials.

The section dealing with Solomon's power over demons shows shared ideas between Josephus and the TSol. Solomon's power over the demons in both accounts is a demonstration of the king's wisdom. In both cases Solomon's wisdom is connected with demonology. Solomon's name will again appear in the context of exorcism and demonology in certain Apocryphal Psalms from Qumran Cave 11 which I shall be discussing in the next chapter. Although Conybeare intimates that the incantations mentioned by Josephus could very well be a reference to the TSol the evidence suggests otherwise. The technique of exorcism which the exorcist adopts in his modus operandi is shared by other writers hence not unique to Josephus and the TSol. This may be an indication of shared cultural conventions or milieu.

The only connection between the arbitration of Solomon in the TSol and Josephus is general; the underlying motif is an attempt to illustrate Solomon's judicial savoir-faire. The Queen of Sheba-Solomon saga shows a great deal of divergence in both accounts. Solomon's apostasy in both Josephus and the TSol shows only a general relation in that in both accounts Solomon was seduced into idolatry by foreign women. Moreover, the specific details about his idolatry and what became of him are portrayed differently by both authors. The reason for this divergence could be attributed to the fact that although

both authors based their stories on similar ideas from the biblical tradition, each author has utilised other sources and developed his story differently.

My analysis has shown that Josephus appears to know some materials also found in the TSol and vice versa. As I have already hinted, some of the parallels are too general for one to suggest Josephus knew the TSol, or vice versa. Other parallels are indicative of indirect influence between the two documents. As regards to the conceptual parallels, the most significant are the ring and wisdom motifs in connection with Solomon power over the demonic world. There is however neither evidence for literary dependence of one upon the other in either direction. I can only suggest an indirect influence due to a common use of the biblical tradition regarding the wisdom motif, and tradition(s) linking Solomon with magic, and his power over demons.

Chapter 8

Qumran Documents and the TSol

In this section I intend to focus on two scrolls from cave11 and the Halakhic letter (4QpapMMT). My main concern here will be to compare the structural elements of the Apocryphal Psalms and their contents with that of the TSol. I shall nonetheless make a cursory comment on the Copper Scroll.

I. The Psalms Scrolls of Cave 11

The first scroll under study is 11QPs^{a} (27 lines 2-11) delineating the Davidic compositions; the second is the badly damaged scroll containing four psalms (11QPsAp^{a}) three of which are songs against demons, and the fourth is a variant of Ps 91. This psalm is known in later rabbinic texts as "song of the stricken" or "songs of demons /evil spirits (שיר הפגעים)." [1] These psalms scrolls of cave 11 could be dated between 50 and 70 CE based on palaeographic evidence.[2] J. A. Sanders suggests that the Psalm Scroll (11QPs^{a}) should certainly not be dated any later than 60 CE.[3] Moreover, the free use of the tetragammaton in the Apocryphal Psalms, which may point to a pre-Qumranic or

[1] This is the last song at the end of the scroll. Cf. b. Šebu. 1, 5b; y. Šabb. 6.8b; y. 'Erub. 10.26c and Midr. Tehillim to Ps 91.
[2] The script was identified as late Herodian formal script (ca. 50-70 C.E.) which is quite developed. F. García Martínez, Elbert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude, eds., Qumran Cave 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31 (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 184. See also Frank M Cross Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright (ed. G. Ernest Wright; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 133-202.
[3] Sanders, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPS^{a})," HTR 59 (1966): 83.

non-Essene origin, has led E. Puech to suggest that the so-called Davidic compositions must have been written in the third or early second century BCE.[4] The 11QPs[a] reads as follows:

> (2) And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate, (3) and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave (4) him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote (5) 3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar and over the whole burnt (6) perpetual offering every day, for all the year, 364; (7) and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New (8) Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs. (9) And all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs (10) for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050.(11) All these he composed through prophecy which was given him before the Most High.[5]

The kernel of the above text which is David's literary activity is well attested in the canonical Psalter. Moreover, in 1 Kings we are informed about the literary activity of his son, Solomon. According to the MT (5:12) Solomon's composition amounted to 4,005. The third century LXX (3 Kgdms 4:32) has the Solomonic composition of 8,000: 3,000 proverbs and 5,000 songs. The number in the MT for a Solomonic composition is forty-five composition less than what we are told of David's compositions in 11QPs[a]. There is ample evidence to suggest that both Solomon and David were composers of songs. According to the text above David is made the author of psalms and songs while in the biblical tradition Solomon is

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[4] E. Puech, "Les Deux Derniers Psaumes Davidiques du Rituel d'exorcisme, 11QPsAp[a] IV 4- V 14," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden/Köln/ New York/Jerusalem: E. J. Brill/ Yad Izhak Ben- Zvi, 1992), 80-88; see also "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme. Essai de Reconstruction," RevQ 14/55 (1990): 400-402. Armin Lange has also noted that whenever the name of God is used in exorcistic context it is avoided as much as possible by only describing it. Perhaps that is why in the TSol you will find "the name of the Holy One of Israel" or "the name of the great God Most High." See Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination" in Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten (ed. Moshe Bernstein, F. García Martínez and John Kampen; STDJ, 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 380-381, note 14.

the author of both proverbs and songs. It appears that within this particular community of Qumran David was not only a wise man but also a musical composer and author of the Psalter,[6] and as we shall later see his son was also renowned.

The Davidic composition as indicated in 11QPs^a includes liturgy for healing the "stricken/possessed" (הפנועים) as clearly stated in line 10. It has been suggested that the latter is a reference to songs sung in the context of exorcism. J. P. M. van der Ploeg identifies the "four songs for playing over the stricken/possessed" (שיר לנגן על הפנועים ארבעה) mentioned in lines 9-10 of 11QPs^a as the three apocryphal pieces which are followed by Psalm 91 in our second scroll.[7] The rationale for this connection is twofold; firstly, Psalm 91 which follows the three Apocryphal Psalms has already been attested in rabbinic literature as song for the stricken and most probably was utilised in exorcism or healing of the possessed. Secondly, the word [הפנוע[ים occurs in column V with the expression לדויד in line 4. If this connection is right then 11QPsAP^a is an established Davidic composition[8] in the Qumran community. Flints adds that the

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[5] See Sanders, The Psalms Scrolls of Qumran Cave 11(11QPs^a) (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 92-93.
[6] Sanders, The Psalms Scrolls, 91-93.
[7] J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Un Petit Rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsAp^a)," in Tradition und Glaube: Das Frühe Christentum in Seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburstad (eds. in G. Jeremias, H. W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 128-39 + pls. II – VII; especially 128-29. The identification of the apocryphal psalms with the four psalms alluded to in line 10 of 11QPs^a is only a possibility. F. García Martínez et al. posit that songs of the manuscripts are not the only ones dealing with הפנועים; the songs of the Maskil (4Q510 and 511), for example, are songs of a different nature against demons but are not attributed to David. See Qumran Cave 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31,183.
[8] Peter W. Flint's classification of these psalms as a "Davidic Exorcism Handbook" is more precise. See Flint, The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms, 167.

"Davidicization of 11QPs[a]-Psalter "serves to reinforce its scriptural status."[9] From the foregoing discussion the literary reputation of David, the father of Solomon, and his connection with exorcism in a non-canonical document is well attested. Furthermore, we shall see in my discussion of the Apocryphal Psalms how David and Solomon are connected with exorcism and ritual practices to gain power.

Since the songs against demons (Apocryphal Psalms) are of a fragmentary nature, translations are based on varied degree of reconstructions. In fact some of the lines are beyond reconstruction. I shall confine myself to two sets of translations. The first is by F. García Martínez, Elbert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude in DJD 23 whose recent reconstructions, English translations and commentary have been very helpful. The second is the English translation by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg and Edward Cook.[10] I shall nonetheless be referring to the work of E. Puech; van der Ploeg and Sanders where necessary.

The first of the Apocryphal Psalms I shall consider is one which deals with demons (השד)[11QPsAp[a] column. I, lines 2-11]: [11]

Col. I

(2)[. . .]and who weeps for him (3) [. . .] the oath (4)[. . .] by YHWH [. . .] (5)the dragon[12] (6) [. . .]the ea[rth] (7) [. . .]exor[cis]ing[. . .] (8)[. . .] [. . .] (9) [. . .] this [. . .](10)[. . .]the demon[. . .](11)[. . .] he will dwell [. . .]

[9] Ibid., 224.
[10] E. Cook, "Songs to disperse demons" in The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation (M. Wise, M. Abegg and E. Cook; San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996), 453-54.
[11] See García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23, 188-89. An earlier translation by García Martínez in The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994), has "devils" instead of "demon."
[12] חנין There is suggestion that this could be an allusion to Ps 91:13.

The vocabulary and language of this passage are enough indication to suggest that the context is one of exorcism. The underlined words such as "the oath (שבועה)," [13] the tetragrammaton (YHWH), "exorcising (משביע)" [14] and demon(s) (השד[ים]) are common in texts dealing with exorcism of spirits/demons.

The second Apocryphal Psalm against demons (11QPsAp[a] column II lines1-12) [15] attests to the name of Solomon in a context dealing with spirits and devils.

Col. II [16]

> (1)[. . .] [. . .] [17](2) [. . .] Solomon [18], [. . .]and he shall Invo[ke (3) [the spi]rits , [. . .] and the demons, [. . .](4) [. . .] These are the demons. And the prince of enmity (5) [w]ho [. . .] the a[byss] (6) [. . .] [. . .] the gre[at](7) [. . .] [. . .] his nation [. . .] cure(8) [. . .] relied [upon] your name. And invo[ke (9) Is]rael. Lean (10) [on YHWH, the God of gods, who made] the heavens (11) [and the earth, and all that is in them, w]ho separated [. . .](12) [light from darkness] [. . .]

The text, as it appears, is laced with overtones of exorcism. The God of creation is invoked here. Although the second line of this column was badly damaged the

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[13] For its biblical usage see Num 5:19-22 and Josh 9:20.
[14] Same word occurs in cols. III line 4 and IV line 1 of DJD 23.
[15] The suggestion that the Psalm began from line 1 to col. V line 3 has been discounted by García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude. Since the end of col. II and the beginning of col. III speak of the same theme, that is, God's creative acts, it is assumed that this could mean that both columns belong to the same song. García Martínez purports that the mention of the name, Solomon in col. II line 2 and שרים in line 3 may indicate the beginning of a new song. This depends on whether the song extends to col. V as suggested by Puech or whether col. IV belongs to another song (DJD 23, 183).
[16] DJD 23, 190-91.
[17] The only letter that is clearly decipherable is "šin." The rest of the translation Puech has reconstructed thus: ([יהוה]בשם[לחש דברי על לדויד). The translation reads as follows: "A David. Au sujet des paroles, d'incantation] au nom [de Yahv[é] (To David. Concerning the words of incantation in the name of [Yahweh.);" Puech and others are here suggesting a Davidic attribution. Puech, "11 QpsAp[a]: un rituel d'exorcismes," 386-389. E. Cook has Solomonic attribution in translating line 2 as "Psalm of Solomon," see "Songs to disperse demons" in The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation (trans. M. Wise. M. Abegg & E. Cook; San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996), 453-54.

name of Solomon is still intact, and it was van der Ploeg who first noticed this.[19] What possibly could be the role of Solomon in this text? Is this an indication of another Solomonic attribution? The majority of the reconstructions suggests otherwise except for Cook's.[20] Sanders has the following for line 1-2: (1)[. . .] in the name of [. . .] (2). [. . . the ac]t of Solomon when he invok[ed the name of Yahweh . . .] (מעש]ה שלומה ויקר[א בשם יהוה).[21] In Sanders' reconstruction, the verb ויקרא[22] is understood in the past sense describing "the act of Solomon." In a similar reconstruction we have "he shall utter a spell which Solomon *made*, and he shall invoke the name of YHWH."[23] This reconstruction may be indicative of Solomon's reputation in composing spells. Although a Solomonic attribution may be denied in favour of a Davidic composition based on Puech's theory where he has linked lines 9 and 10 of 11QPs^{a} with the four Apocryphal Psalms[24] there is nonetheless an association between Solomon and exorcism and this becomes clearer in lines 3 and 4. The mention of Solomon in close association with demons and healing which occur in most texts pertaining to exorcism or ritual practices to gain power is important. The mention of David's son, Solomon in

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[18] The text has שלומה although the MT always has שלמה for Solomon. Various plene writings referring to Solomon such as שלומוה (4 QMMT C 18) and שלומו(3 Q 15 V 6; 8-9) are attested elsewhere in Qumran literature. Cf. Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23, 191.

[19] Van der Ploeg, "Un Petit Rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsAp^{a})," 131.

[20] [. . . . A Psalm of] Solomon. He took [. . . . .]the demons [. . . . .] these are [the de]mons [. . . . .] I]sr[ael with me [. . .] healing [. . . the righteous] leans on your name and calls [. . . . . He says to Is]rael, Be strong [. . .], the heavens [. . .] who separated [light from darkness . . .]

[21] Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken (11QpsAp^{a} =11Q11)," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations (vol. 4; ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Reitz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 216-233; especially 220-21.

[22] For calling upon God and/or invoking his name in formulae of healing see 2 Chr 6:28-31.

[23] יאמר לחש אשר עשה שלומה ויקרא בשם יהוה See García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, Qumran Cave 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31 , 191. See also Puech, "11 QPsAp^{a}: Un Rituel d'exorcismes," 386-389.

one of the Apocryphal Psalms serves to connect a Solomon tradition dealing with exorcism with David. This link has already been attested outside the Qumran community evidenced in the sixtieth chapter of Pseudo-Philo.

Two possible reconstructions of line 3 are firstly, according to Puech: "to deliver from every affliction of the spirits and the demons, [liliths, owls and wildcats]."[25] The second "is to frighten and terrify all the spirits."[26] Both readings are plausible. The word, השדים meaning "the demons" is also found in OT passages in a context of idolatry;[27] in rabbinic texts, שד is commonly used as the name of (the) demons.[28] Additionally, the mention of the word רפואה ("cure" or "medicine") in line 7 is indicative of the exorcistic and therapeutic nature of the text.

In line 8 the tetragrammaton, YHWH, appears to play a significant role in protecting the one who invokes his name; it occurs ubiquitously in the other columns. The name appears to be a source of protection here and the one who knows the name of the deity wields power over that deity and would summon the deity to his/her aid.[29] The tetragrammaton is invoked in an exorcistic ritual in columns I, II and IV. This is the great and powerful name that appears to have the power to thwart demons and evil spirits utilised by the Qumran community.

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[24]Puech, "Psaumes Davidiques," 78-79; "11 QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exocismes," 399-403.
[25] (4) "Pour qu'il délivre de tout fléau des esp]rits et des démons, [les liliths, (5) les hiboux et les chat sauvages (?)]," Lines 4 -5 of col. 1 in Puech, "11 QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exocismes," 387, 88, 390.
[26]]חות[לפחד ולבהל כול הרו
[27] Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 (לשדים)
[28] Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23, 191.

The efficacious power of the name including the name of God, especially the tetragrammaton, is one of the three features of Jewish magic pointed out by E. R. Goodenough[30] and Marcel Simon.[31] Its use, however, was not solely restricted to Jewish magic since syncretistic magic also employs it.

In the TSol we do find various descriptions of the name of God in the context of adjuration. These descriptions very well echo the sacred name of God. Let us now consider the names that are called upon in the act of thwarting demons in the TSol. In the TSol 4:12, the name is "the Holy One of Israel" (τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰσραήλ); the expression "Holy One"[32] is certainly an epithet of God in the Old Testament. Duling suggests that this is a "circumlocution for Yahweh."[33] In 5:9 it is by the "name of the Lord of Sabaoth" (τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου Σαβαώθ). In 6:8, "if anyone adjures me with the oath 'the Eloi', the great name for his power, I disappear (ἐάν τίς με ὁρκίσῃ τό Ἐλωί, μέγα ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ)." In 11:6 another demon is adjured by the "name of the Great God most High (τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου)" while 18:4 (MS P) the name of the Lord of Sabaoth was invoked against

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[29] In the OT times the God's name was a source of support and help. Cf. Isa 10:20; 50:10; and 2 Chr 13:18; 14:10; 16:7-8); Ps 20:2. See Henry O. Thompson, "Yahweh" in ABD 6:1011-1012.
[30] E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period (Bollingen series 37; New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-1968) 2: 161-62.
[31] Marcel Simon, Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425) (trans. H. McKeating; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 343-45. See also Charlesworth, "Prayer of Jacob," OTP 2: 716.
[32] Cf. I John 2:20 could be referring to Jesus or God; in Acts 2: 27 and 13:35 the reference is to Jesus and it appears that Luke was using Ps 16:10.
[33] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," OTP 1:965 note 4f.

demons. The name of God or some sacred and powerful equivalent[34] has the power to thwart demons. In both the TSol and the Apocryphal Psalms the oath is apotropaic and a potent force for thwarting demonic forces.

The "Who are you?" Identifying Formula

For the "who are you?" identifying formula I shall be using Sanders' translation in conjunction with Puech's. Both Sanders and Puech translations contain 13 lines while the text in DJD 23 has only 12 lines since lines 1 and 2 of Sanders' and Peuch's translation are combined into one by García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude. I must also point out that columns II, III, IV and V are consolidated under a single psalm against demons in García Martínez's earlier translation:[35]

Col. III [36]

> (1) [. . .] [. . . . Who are](2) [y]ou? [. . .] the deep[s . . .]
> (3) the earth and all earth. Who m[ade . . .](4) and the port[ents . . .]
> earth? Yahweh (is) the on[e who] (5) made ev[erything . . .] his [. . .][. . .]
> adjuring all the angels . . . .](6) all the proge[ny. . .] who st[a]nd in service
> before [him . . .](7) [. . . he]avens and [all] the earth [. . .] who se[n]d
> upon(8) [. . .ear]th sin and upon every hu[man . . .] they know(9) his
> wondrous works which they cannot [. . .Yahw]eh. If [they] do not (10) [. . .]
> from before Yahweh [. . .] to kill a soul (11) [. . .] Yahweh and the[y] will
> fear tha[t] great [. . .](12) [. . . o]ne among you [. . .] a th[ousand . . .]
> from the servants of Yahw[eh] (13) [. . .g]reat [blow] and [. . .] [. . .]

The recurrent theme in the text is the wonderful acts of Yahweh; it speaks highly of the marvellous creative acts of Yahweh.[37] Like the previous text God's power

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[34] Moshe Greenberg, "Oath," EncJud 12:1296. He suggests that "oath" is associated with the invocation of God or some sacred or powerful equivalent. See F. C. Fensham, "Oath," ISBE 3. 573.

[35] F. García Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 376-77.

is entreated; Yahweh is the one who has made everything and can adjure all the angels who are at his service. In lines 3-5 Yahweh is praised as a powerful creator. This motif of praising the act of God is also common in the canonical Psalter. One can draw a parallel here with the TSol where it is said on a number of occasions that Solomon honoured and glorified or worshiped the God of heaven and earth (2:5,9; 3:5; 7:1; 8:1; 12:1; 15:1; 13,15; 16:1; 20:21; 25:9) for being able to subjugate the demons.

The act of praising the creative acts of Yahweh appears to be connected to the identifying formula introduced by the question, "Who are you?" in lines 1-2 (line 1 in DJD 23) based on the reconstruction of what might have been in the lacunae (cf. אתה מי in col V. line 6 of DJD 23). If the question is addressed to a demon then the text contrasts the demon's identity with Yahweh's creativeness. However, it must be said that because the text is so badly damage it is difficult to know to whom the question is addressed hence we have to rely on further reconstructions and speculations. A similar question occurs in line 6 of column. V. In the text above Puech has reconstructed lines 1-4 thus: (1) et tu lui diras: Qui (2) es-]tu? [As-tu fait les cieux et]les abîmes et tout ce qu'ils contiennent, (3) la terre et t[out ce qui est sur la]terre? Qui a fa[it ces signes] (4) et [ces]

[36] Col. III in García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude (DJD 23, 192-93) but col. II in Sanders' translation.
[37] In 1QapGen 20:12-16 a similar motif appears where Abraham praises God as a ruler of the universe. Lange has pointed out that the theme of praising God is integral to those texts dealing with exorcism. He cited example in the book of Jubilees and 1QapGen 20; see "The Essene position on magic and divination," 382-84; and note 23.

prodi[ges sur la] terre? C'est Lu[i] Yahve [qui]. . .[38] Puech has noted the importance of the question, "Who are you?" in relation to the TSol.[39] Sanders correctly points out that the question must have been directed to the demon or the spirit to be exorcised in question in this particular context.[40] One could infer that the demon here is denigrated and proved to be inept when compared to Yahweh in his mighty acts of creation. Moreover, lines 8-9[41] may contrast the addressee's impotence with Yahweh's omnipotence.

The same formula also occurs in column V in connection of the identity of a certain demon.

Col. V (lines 1-14)[42]

> (1) [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] (2) which [ ]the possessed[. . .] (3) the volunteers of [Ra]phael has healed [them. Amen, amen. selah.]vacat (4) of David. A[gainst[43]. . . An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at any time(5) the heav[ens. When he comes to you in the nig[ht,] you will [s]ay to him:(6) who are you [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the Ho[ly One]s? Your face is a face of (7) delu]sion and your horns of ill[us]ion, you are darkness and not light, (8) injustice and not justice. [. . .] the chief of the army, YHWH [will bring] you [down] (9) [to the] deepest sheo]l [and he will shut the] two bronze [ga]tes th[rough which n]o (10) light [penetrates,] and [the] sun [will] not shine for you tha[t rises](11) [upon the] just man to [And] you will say: [. . .](12) the just man, to go [. . .] a

[38] "(1) . . . And you shall say to him, (2) [who are] you? (מי אתה) Did you make the heavens and the deeps and all that is in them,] (3) the earth and a[ll that is upon the] earth? Who ma[de the signs] (4) and the por[tens that (are) on the] earth? Yahweh (is) the on[e] who . . ." Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: un Rituel d'exorcisme," 388; cf. van der Ploeg, "Un Petit Rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsAp[a])," 132.

[39] Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 392-93.

[40] Sanders, "Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 223 note 20.

[41] García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23, 195. For text and commentary see also Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 381-84;and van der Ploeg, "Un Petit Rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsAp[a])," 132-33.

[42] Translation is from DJD 23, 199-200.

[43] García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude (Qumran Cave 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31, 200) has translated על as "against" contrary to Puech's reconstruction is ע[ל דברי "concerning the words of" (Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 381-3). The reading (ע[ל פגוע) is also possible considering in 11QPs[a] XXVII 9-10: שיר לנן על הנפגועים ארבעה.

de[mon] mistreats him, [. . .](13) [. . . of tr]uth from [. . . because] he has [justice, [. . .] (14) [. . .] and [. . .] [. . .]

Briefly, this is the only one of the four Apocryphal Psalms that has an extant attribution to David (לדוד). The protagonists here are Yahweh and a demon who is accused of wickedness (lines 6-8). This motif of conflict between Yahweh and the demon is present in columns IV and V. Later on we will notice that in column IV an angel is sent on Yahweh's behalf against Belial.[44] The text above makes it abundantly clear in lines 5- 6 that a demon is being addressed, and line 5 may be reconstructed to read either "in the night" or "Belial."[45] García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude accept the latter reading (בלי[לה) since the night is the most dangerous moment. However, although the name "Belial" has not already occurred in the text and neither does it appear elsewhere in this psalm there is reference to the "sons of Belial" in column VI line 3.[46] Belial could very well be the correct reconstruction since this figure parallels the reference to "Satan" in line 12.

The "who are you?" formula is crucial to the demon's identity because after the question is asked all the negative characteristics of the demon are unravelled. It

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[44] Jörg Frey in his comments has hinted at the concept of dualism in the Apocryphal Psalms as depicted in the conflict between Yahweh and Belial which culminated in Belial being consigned to Sheol; see Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library. Reflections on their Background and History," in Legal Texts and Legal Issues, 322-23.

[45] Puech's reconstruction: בלי[על (11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 386). Belial (Beliar) is well attested in Pseudepigraphic literature as the proper name of the powerful opponent of God, who allures people and causes them to sin. The Greek (Belial/Beliar) appears once in the NT as a term for the devil in 2 Cor 6:15; See Theodore J. Lewis, "Belial" in ABD 1:654-56. See also I QM 13.11; 17.5-6; 1.1, 13; 11:8; 15:3 and I QH[a] 3.28b-32.

[46] García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, DJD 23, 200. Col. V in Sanders' translation, col. IV line 5 and col. V line of Peuch's ("11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 381-82). Also in Puech's reconstruction of line 6 of col. I ("11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 387-88, 391).

is obvious that these characteristics are abhorrent to Yahweh since Belial is everything Yahweh is not. The demon is identified as an offspring of an angel and a human being in line 6. More is revealed about some of the characteristics of demons in the subsequent lines. Although line 7 seems to describe the strange appearance of demons,[47] it may very well be a graphic description of

of the chief of the army, line 12 is indicative of the level of harassment brought upon man by demons (Satan).[48] The demon will eventually be imprisoned in Sheol as described in lines 9 and 10.[49]

Besides the "who you are?" formula in an exorcism context there are other elements that are worth considering. If the reconstruction of line 3 is correct, then we have an attestation of Raphael, the angel, par excellence who is well known in Jewish texts for his healing role. Sanders has "volunteers of [. . .Ra]phael will make them whole[. . .]"[50] This translation explicitly links Raphael with healing activities. The connection between Raphael and healing activities is not unique to this psalm because he is presented elsewhere as the angel who heals those who are possessed by evil spirits (demons).[51] The appearance of the word, לחש[52] in line 4, which may be translated as "incantation", "spell" or "charm," together with

[47] Cf. b. Pes 111b.
[48] The end of this line could be either Satan (שׂ]טן) or a demon (שׂ]ד).
[49] Cf. Jub. 10: 5; 7-8, 11; and 1 En. 7-8, 11; 10: 4-5, 12-14; 12:6.
[50] Sanders, "A liturgy of healing the stricken," 227; see also note 29.
[51] Raphael's role in Tobit.
[52] The same word occurs in Jer 8:17; Isa 3:3, 20; 26:16. Qoh 10:11.

the divine name, YHWH (בשם יהוה) point to the apotropaic value of the tetragrammaton.[53]

The Invocation of an Angel: the Mighty Angel

According to the reconstruction of column IV[54] the motif of a mighty angel seems to play a vital role on Yahweh's behalf.

Col. IV

> (1) [and] great [. . .]adjuring [. . .] (2) and the great [. . .] powerful and [. . .](3) all the earth [. . .] the heavens and [. . .](4) YHWH will strike you with a [grea]t b[low] to destroy you [. . .](5) And in his fury [he will send] against you a powerful angel [to carry out] (6) his entire comm]and, [who will not show] you mercy, wh[o . .](7) [ ] over all these, who [will bring] you [down] to the great abyss(8) [and to] the deepest [Sheol.] and [. . . ,] and it will be very dark (9) [in the gr] eat [abyss. No any]more on the earth (10) [. . .] forever and [. . .] by the curse of Ab[addon](11) [. . .] the fury of Y[HWH in] darkness for a[ll](12) [periods of] humiliation [. . .] your gift (13) [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .]

Within this context we again find the motif of the praise of the power of Yahweh which dominates column III. Here the greatness of Yahweh is contrasted with the fate of Yahweh's opponent, the object of Yahweh's anger. The word משביע translated "adjuring "is generally used of the magician in a context of exorcism. The usage in this context suggests a threat to the demon in question. Furthermore, the tone of the passage is also indicative of that threat. In another text (column II line 5 of Sanders' translation, [55] vide supra) the same word is used

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[53] See Ps 20:1-2; Prov 18:10.

[54] Translation from García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude DJD 23, 195-97). The text parallels col. III of Sanders ("A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 225) and Puech ("11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme 388, 394-95).

[55] Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 223 // col. III line 4 of by García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, (DJD 23, 192-94). Puech reconstruction reads thus: "(4). . . C'est Lu[i] Yahve [qui] (5) a t[out] fait [par] sa [puissan]ce conjurant chaque an[ge de venir en aide a] (6)

to describe Yahweh summoning the angels to do something. The idea of sending an angel against Yahweh's adversary (a demon or an evil spirit) spoken of in lines 4-6 could further substantiate the notion of threat. In the fifth line he is identified as the messenger of YHWH, the מלאך תקיף.[56] According to Puech's reconstruction[57] the mighty angel[58] who is sent by Yahweh will subjugate and imprison Yahweh's opponent. Lines 7- 11 reflect the fate of the demon: an everlasting punishment in Sheol. This is part of the conflict scenario between Belial and Yahweh portrayed in these psalms.

Structural Parallels in the TSol

If the three columns (III, IV and V) are considered as part of the same psalm then four elements that I have already suggested regarding the structure of the Apocryphal Psalms must be reiterated. They are (a) the identifying formula: "who are you?" (b) the description of the demons; (c) a threat to the demon; and (d) the invocation of an angel. How does all this relate to the TSol? Generally, the TSol may be seen to be structured along similar lines with six elements: (a) the

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toute la race sainte] qui se ti[e]nt en [sa] présence. . . " "(Yahweh (is) the on[e who] made ev[erything by] his [might] adjuring all the an[gels to help] all the proge[ny of holiness] who st[a]nd in service before [him; . .)"

[56] A similar expression occurs in Prov 17:11 but here it is a ruthless or evil messenger who would be sent against a rebellious man.

[57] In order to get the full picture of the context I shall quote lines 5-9 " (5) et dans l'ardeur de sa colère, [il enverra]contre toi un ange fort[pou exécuter (6) tou]s ses[ord]res, qui [sera sans] pitié contre toi, qu[i , lui, (7)aura pouvoir (?)"] sur tous ceux-ci, qui t'[enverra] au grand abîme (8) [et au shéol] infernal et loin du se[jour lumineux (?) tu] habiteras, et il fait extrêmement (9) noir [dans le gr]and [abîme. Tu ne domineras pl]us sur la terre" = "And by his burning wrath [he will send] against you a mighty angel [to execute al]l [his com]mand(s) which [(will be) without] pity against you, (an angel) wh[o will have dominion, indeed,] over all those who [will s]e[nd] you to the great pit [and to] deepest [Sheol], and (far) from the abode of light you] will lie down and (there will be) darkness [in the] extremely [gr]eat [abyss. . .You will no] more [have dominion] over the earth " Puech "11QPsAp[a]: Un Rituel d'exorcisme," 388, 395-96.

[58] See my discussion on "an angel of the great counsel" in chapter 9.

identifying "who are you?" formula (b) self-disclosure (c) activities of the demon (d) the thwarting agents (e) sealing of the demon (f) tasks delegated to perform with respect to the Temple building. These elements, as I have suggested are pivotal to the structure of the TSol. Self disclosure of the demon as regarding his/her name, location and activities of the demon is central to the demon's identity. Hence from a structural point of view there may be parallels between the aforementioned passages and the TSol. The first four of these six elements will be considered since we cannot find all six elements in the Apocryphal Psalms.

Three of these elements are clearly identifiable in a summary statement in chapter 15 which explains why Solomon wrote the TSol:

> . . .I gave (it) to them so that (they) might know the powers of the demons and their forms, as well as the names of the angels by which they are thwarted. (v. 14)

The three aspects that emerge from the underlined text pertain to demonology. Firstly, the powers of the demons (δύναμις τῶν δαιμόνων) as regarding their activities are revealed. The second is to do with the various forms (τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶν) of demons. This in itself is connected with the identity of the demons. The third point is the reference to the thwarting agents with special emphasis on the names of angels (τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγγέλων). The passage above gives us an overview of what the TSol is all about. Moreover, the chapters of the TSol reveal a structure containing elements pertaining to the identity of the demon, activities, and thwarting agents.

The first element concerning the identity of the demon (the "who are you" formula) although not apparent in the aforementioned text is found passim in the TSol. In the TSol the identifying formula comes in the form of the questions: "Who are you (σὺ τίς εἶ)?"[59] "What is your name (τί σου τὸ ὄνομα)?"[60] or "What are you called (τίς ἡ κλῆσίς σου)?" [61] This formula features as the precursor of disclosure.

The second element, which is connected to the first, is the process of self - disclosure where the demons reveal their identities. As a result of Solomon's interrogation the demons tell him their names, describe their physical forms, explain their aetiology; and give their astrological locations or penchant (2:2; 4:6; 6:7; 7:6; and 9:4, 5). This element of self-disclosure is consistent with the structure of the TSol. With regards to the aetiology of demons, the origin of Asmodeus in TSol 5:1-3 (offspring of a human mother and an angel) seems to correspond to the origin of Belial in line 6 of column V. However, none of the characteristics of Belial in this column matches those of Asmodeus in the TSol.

The activities of the demons are sometimes introduced in the TSol by a question (τίς ἡ ἐργασία αὐτοῦ; τις ἡ πρᾶξεις σου;) put to the demon.[62] In the TSol demons are responsible for every conceivable diseases and mishap. They are source of moral evil since they are implicated in heresies, idolatry, envy, murders

[59] 3:6 4:3; 5:2; 7:3; 8:1; 10:2; 12:2; 13:2, 3; 14:2; 15:2; 17:1; 18:2,4; 22:19; and 25:1.
[60] 11:4
[61] 2:1; 7:4 and 9:2
[62] 5:6; 6:4; 7:5; 8:5; 10:5; 17:2; and 25:1;

and wars. However, the diseases, bodily defects, epilepsy, seasickness, dangers to women in childbirth, natural disasters, and immorality caused by these demons could be averted or cured. It must be said, however, that the activities of demons especially in connection to the diseases they cause are absent in the Apocryphal Psalms under investigation. The demons as presented in the TSol are powerful but not so powerful that God cannot subdue them through his agent. Even the leader of the demons, Beelzeboul was subjected to Solomon's power. Furthermore, the strong dualism in the Apocryphal Psalms seems to be lacking in the TSol. Belial and other evil spirits appear to be in a cosmic struggle with Yahweh and his angel. McCown is right to suggest that there is no "real dualism" in the TSol.[63] The sole function of the names of angels in the TSol is for thwarting purposes.

Fourthly, even though other apotropaic agents were mentioned the role of angels as thwarting agents is crucial in the author(s)'s worldview. They may be introduced by the demon as a result of Solomon's question, "what angel thwarts you?" (ποῖος ἄγγελός ἐστιν ὁ καταργῶν /ὑπὸ ποίου ἀγγέλου καταργεῖσαι).[64] Their function is primarily medicinal not adversarial. Angels are there to thwart demons that cause diseases and other nefarious activities and in so doing demonic activities are averted or prevented. The parallel between the TSol and the Apocryphal Psalms with regards to Raphael's role in a context of exorcism

[63] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 45.
[64] Cf. 2:4; 4:10; 6:8; 7:8; 11:5; 13:6; 14:7; 15:2; 16:6; 17:4; 22:20.

and healing is unmistakable. This angel occurs thrice in the TSol (5:9; 13:6, and 18:8), and all these have to do with counteracting the evil effects of demons. There is mention of a powerful or mighty angel who works on behalf of YHWH in column IV. In the TSol it is stated twice that angels were invoked with the use of the term ἐπικαλέω. In 14:8 Solomon invoked the "great angel."

> After I glorified God I asked the dragon-shaped demon, saying, "tell me by what angel you are thwarted." he replied, "By the great angel who is seated in the second heaven, who is called in Hebrew Bazazath."[65]

In 15:7 another angel is invoked by Solomon in order to thwart the female demon, Enepsigos:

> Accordingly, "When I, Solomon had prayed to my God and invoked the angel Rathanael about whom he spoke, I made use of the seal and sealed her down with a triple-link chain. . ."

Both the TSol and the Apocryphal Psalms attest to the invocation of angels. Angels certainly play important role in texts dealing with exorcisms or ritual practices aimed to empower those who utilised them.[66] The preoccupation with angels is one of the three features of Jewish magical practices noted.[67] Certain texts demonstrate that angels merely *mediated* cures rather than cures being *effected by appealing directly to them.* [68] The function of the angel invoked in the Apocryphal Psalm is dissimilar from the TSol even though these angels were to

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[65] This is a hapax legomemon and the name does not appear elsewhere in the pseudepigrapha. One of the three features of Jewish magic texts is the presence of Hebrew phrases or names (sometimes incomprehensible) that are thought to be potent.

[66] The Essenes oath recorded in Josephus includes the names of angels. See J.W. 2.142.

[67] See Jub. 10:10-14 and Tob 6:3-9 and 8:1-3.

[68] Stuckenbruck, Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John (WUNT 2/70; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1995), 178-80; 192-200. He has argued that the role of angels in Jewish texts was apotropaic, and there is no evidence that a prayer or an address was made to an angel in first century CE or earlier. In the TSol for example, the prayer in 2:7 is not a prayer intended to the angel Ouriel. There is a clear distinction between the knowledge of the names for the angels and the

act against demons. In the Apocryphal Psalms the powerful angel functions in context containing overtones of dualism. He is responsible for consigning the demon to everlasting punishment in Sheol. This idea is lacking in the TSol. The role of the angels in the TSol is rather passive. There is no hint of cosmic struggle between angels and demons in the TSol as we find in the Apocryphal Psalms. Furthermore, in 18:1-42 we find a catalogue of angels who have power to overpower named demons.

Incidentally, 4Q560,[69] an Aramaic apotropaic magic formula designed to be used for prophylactic purpose to ward off demons who visit mothers at childbirth; and those who causes illnesses may also share structural elements to the TSol in three areas of demonology already discussed above: the name and gender of the demon; enumeration of the diseases they cause; and adjuration in the second person. If Alexander is right in his observations that 4Q560 is apotropaic and intended to prevent demonic attack[70] then unlike 4Q560 the TSol serves both healing and prophylactic purposes. The structural parallels may only indicate a common denominator in magical texts.

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worshiping of God as described in 1:6; 2:5,9; 3:5; 7:1; 8:1; 12:1; 14:7; 15:1,13,15; 16:1; 20:21; 22:16 and 25:9.

[69] This scroll belongs to a magic manual and could be dated around 50 CE. There are several uncertainties with this text in connection with its unusual vocabulary, genre and general its. For text translation and a brief background, see Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered . The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 key Documents withheld for over 35 years (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992), 265-66; Douglas L. Penney & Michael O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," JBL 113 (1994): 627-50. J. Naveh has offered alternative reconstruction and translation of the two columns of 4Q560 based also on conjectures, see "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," IEJ 48 (1998): 252-61.

[70] Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, (vol 1; ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 344-48.

C. The Halakhic Letter (4Q 398[4QpapMMT])

The name of Solomon appears in other texts that do not have traces of magic or exorcisms. In the Copper Scroll the name appears in connection with architectural structures.[71] This however is not significant for my purpose. Another occurrence is in the Halakhic letter. In this letter Solomon is referred to as the son of David:

> (1)[the bl]essings which c[ame upon] him in the days of Solomon the son of David and also the curses (2) which came upon him from the days of Je]roboam son of Nebat and . . . .[72]

In addition to the allusion to Solomon, the fate of Jerusalem is also foretold in this passage. This idea is probably taken from the biblical tradition. The TSol does refer to Solomon as the son of David in a number of places in the different extant manuscripts.

Preliminary Conclusions

Apart from the mere mention of the name "Solomon" in the Copper Scroll and the reference to Solomon as the son of David, in the Halakhic letter, there are certainly overt elements connected with ritual practices to gain power occur in both the TSol and the Qumran literature. Firstly, a relevant point in this regard is the link between Solomon and his father David in the context of magic and exorcism in the Apocryphal Psalms. This link did not originate in Qumran and it

[71] We read of the pool and ditch (5.5-12). See Judah A. Lefkovits, The Copper Scroll, 3Q15: A Reevaluation. A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary (STDJ 25; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 191-98. See also A. Wolters, "The Copper Scrolls," in The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years, 2:302-23.

appeared to have been an accepted and well-established tradition. Solomon's name in the context of exorcism is attested in Josephus, and in subsequent section we will see how the expression "Solomon, the son of David" is significant in magical texts.

Secondly, there are certainly some parallels in structure between the TSol and the Apocryphal Psalms in four areas: the identifying formula, self-disclosure of the demon, the activities of the demon, and the thwarting agent with special emphasis on the role of angels. Despite the structural parallels the TSol proved to contain a more complex demonology. These parallels could be attributed to an indirect influence due to the shared cultural conventions of the milieu from which these texts emanate. They do not imply any literary borrowing; in other words, the TSol did not know or follow the structure of either the Qumran materials discussed or 4Q560. These structural elements can be found in other texts of exorcisms in late antiquity. The connection between Solomon and exorcism in these texts discussed point to an indirect influence as a result of an independent use of a common fund of tradition(s) linking Solomon to exorcism. Other seeming similarities in motifs and ideas of praising Yahweh, especially, his creative acts as in the Apocryphal Psalms; the invocation of angels; dualism; the use of the tetragrammaton or its description as the case may be in the TSol; the reference to Raphael; and the healing angel are not unique to the TSol and the Qumran materials.

[72] Quotation from Fragment 1(= 4QMMT 104- 110); see García Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: the Qumran Texts in English, 84.

Chapter 9

The New Testament and the TSol

In the TSol we find parallels to the NT, especially, the Synoptic Gospels. These points of contact are in the form of expressions, technical terms, phrases, ideas and motifs. One expression which seems to stand out is the "son of David" title. There are other references that Conybeare has highlighted in his work.[1]

The Queen of the South/ Sheba

I started discussing the queen earlier in my treatment of 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles and Josephus. In Luke 11:31 and Matt 12:42 she is the prophetic queen from the South who mentioned in connection with Solomon's wisdom. The latter reads:

> The Queen of the South (βασίλισσα νότου) will rise at the judgement with this generation and condemn it; because she came from the ends of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon, and see, something greater than Solomon is here! (NRSV)[2]

The identity of the queen in the above passage is slightly different from the OT. The Gospel writers refer to her as the Queen of the South while she is Queen of Sheba in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. There is no doubt that the Queen of the South here is a reference to the same Queen of Sheba in the OT.[3] We find a similar identifying feature expressed in the TSol 19:3 and 21:1 where Sheba is unequivocally referred to as the Queen of the South. The mention in the NT is intended to draw a parallel between Jesus and Solomon. The queen came to test Solomon with hard questions, so likewise

[1] Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 5-6.
[2] Minor variation between Luke and Matthew readings

the Pharisees tested another king, Jesus, but unlike them, she could see the truth.[4] She is here a prophetic witness of the last judgement. I. Howard Marshall suggests that the word "πλεῖον" as used in Luke could be used to emphasise the quality rather than the person, hence the text is contrasting Solomon's wisdom with that of Jesus.[5] To further add to the depiction of Sheba, the NT appears to present her in a positive light. This image coheres with Josephus' and the OT's portrayals.[6] Sheba in the NT has also been seen allegorically to represent the Gentile church.[7]

The reference to the Queen in the TSol is following the biblical account in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. Besides the nomenclature of γόης, the TSol appears to have followed the NT or a similar tradition when it refers to her as the Queen of the South and presents her in a positive light, but unlike the NT the TSol makes the OT connection by also calling her Sheba.

Beelzebul, the Prince of demons

The mention of Beelzebul[8] in the Synoptics[9] is noteworthy because nowhere else is the name mentioned in the NT and never once did the name appear in

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[3] Sheba appears in Isa 60:6 and Ps 72:8-10 as the name is a kingdom from which kings would bring gifts.
[4] W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew (ICC 2; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 359.
[5] I. Howard Marshall, The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1978), 486.
[6] For the portrayal of the Queen of Sheba, see my discussion on Josephus in chapter 7.
[7] See Paul F. Watson, "The Queen of Sheba in Christian Tradition," in Solomon and Sheba, 115-17; and A. Chastel, "la Légende de la Reine de Saba," RHR 120 (140):163-164.
[8] Lewis,' "Beelzebul," ABD 1:638-40. Some NT MSS have Beelzeboul (א B) while others (Vulgate, Syriac^{c}, Syriac^{p}) attest to Beelzebub. Beelzebul is the best-attested form in the NT, and his character fills the role of Satan in the NT. בעל זבוב 'Baal Zebub' occurs 2 Kgs 1:2, 3, 6 and 16. The expression is reference to the God of Ekron. The LXX rendering of the MT בעל זבוב for Βααλ μυια, literally meaning 'Lord of fly,' betrays a connection between "Baal" and 'Zebûb'. Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render the latter part of the Hebrew word 'Baal zebûb' to mean 'fly God' (Ακκαρων Θεον Μυιαν). The rendering of the divine

the OT. Beelzebul (ὁ Βεελζεβουλ) is clearly identified with the ὃ ἀρχων τῶν δαιμονίων of the Synoptics; and Jesus was accused of expelling demons by his authority. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison intimate that by the NT times Beelzebul became used of the several names for Satan along with Asmodeus.[10] It must be noted however that in the TSol Beelzebul and Asmodeus are two distinct and separate beings.

Two of Matthew's[11] references which also parallel the accounts in Mark and Luke are found in the context of exorcism which is further linked to the question relating to the "son of David" title which I shall be discussing later. The relationship between the "son of David" title and Beelzebul is also mirrored in the TSol where Solomon, son of David, is associated with several demons including Beelzebul. Moreover, Solomon is alluded to as the son of David in a number of occasions, one of which is in the context dealing with demons, although not particularly with the named demon, Beelzebul. All the allusions to Jesus expelling demons and the response to his activity suggest the possibility that Jesus might have accomplished this task through the prince of demons, Beelzebul. A third reference[12] to the accusation brought against Jesus regarding his credentials for his exorcisms is perhaps an

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name as Beelzebul in the NT may be due to a different text form or based on oral tradition. There is also suggestion that the NT rendering could be the original form for the deity in 2 Kings hence the original Hebrew should be 'Baal Zebûl' and not 'Baal Zebûb.' Beelzebub, a later correction of the canonical text of the OT (LXX), does exist and this may explain why later the NT MSS do attest to the corrected rendering (for Zebûl see Deut 26:15; Isa 63:15 and Ps 68.6). Is the MT's attestation a deliberate distortion? Albright came up with a meaning 'prince' or 'the elevated one' based on the Ugarit. This meaning fits the frequent usage of 'zbl' as a title for gods. Another suggestion is that 'zbl' is prince, Lord of the underworld' hence 'Baal Zebub' is an intentional misspelling. Baal is the prince, a Chthonic god who is able to help in cases of illness. In Ugaritic incantations Baal is invoked to drive away the demon of diseases; see W. Herrmann, "Baal Zebub," DDD, 154-156.

[9] Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; and Luke 11:15, 18-19.

[10] Davies and Allison, The Gospel According to Saint Matthew, 195-96.

[11] Matt 12:24, 27.

oblique one. By whose authority did he perform his miracles? The religious leaders alleged that he was possessed by Beelzebul and it is through him he drives out the demons. It is clear in the NT that Beelzebul is not "a prince of demons" but "the prince of demons."

Similarly, in the TSol the demon occupies an important position. He is described as the ruler of the demons (τῶν δαιμονίων ὁ ἐξαρχος; 3:6) and the prince of demons (ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων; 2:9; 3:5; 6:1). In 6:3, 5 Kunopegos tells Solomon that the demons are subjected to Beelzebul's direction: he gives advice with respect to their activities. Kunopegos himself states that he came to Beelzebul for consultation. He is the instrument through whom Solomon would subdue the unclean spirits. In chapter 5, he brings forth the evil demon, Asmodeus. In chapter 6, Beelzebul tells Solomon that he was the highest-ranking angel in heaven and that he is the only one left of the heavenly angels (probably an allusion to the idea "of the fallen angels"). Beelzebul is responsible for a lot of misdemeanour; he wreaks havoc upon humanity and causes demons to be worshipped alongside men. He brings destruction by means of tyrants; he arouses desire in holy men, brings about murders and jealousies and instigates wars. He can even tell the future: he prophesies about the Arabian wind demon, Ephippas (22-24). He tells Solomon that is thwarted by the Almighty God and the oath, "the Elo-i." When he has told Solomon all these things Solomon commanded him to cut marble for the Temple. All the other demons who were working in the Temple acknowledged Beelzebul as their king in TSol 6.[13] Later in the same

[12] Matt 10: 25; Mark 3:22.
[13] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 935.

chapter we read that the demon was forbidden by Solomon to speak because he was about to reveal forbidden knowledge to the king.

References to Jesus

There are implicit references to Jesus in the TSol and I shall now discuss five of them. The first is centred on the encounter between Solomon and Beelzebul (6:8). Recension A reads as follows:

> Then I said, "Tell me which angel thwarts you." "The Almighty God," he replied. "He is called by the Hebrew Patike (Πατικῆ)[14], the one who descends from the heights, he is (called) by the Greeks Emmanouel: I am always afraid of him, and trembling. If any one adjures me with the oath (called) 'the Eloi,' the great name for his power,[15] I disappear."

Three identifying markers that may point to Jesus in the above text are three words: "Patike," "Emmanouel," and "Eloi." Emmanuel is an allusion to Isaiah's prophecy in 7:14 describing the birth of the child Immanuel. Matthew sees the fulfilment of this prophecy in the birth of Jesus (Matt 1:23). Eloi, is a reference to Jesus' crying on the cross as recorded in the Synoptics, and this is found only in Matthew and Mark.[16] The "Eloi" form found in the TSol appears only in Mark while Matthew has the "Eli" form. The attestation of MS P (recession B) makes a strong case for a connection with Jesus. This text reads as follows:

> I said to him, "Tell me by what angel you are thwarted". And he replied, "by the holy and precious name of the almighty God, the one called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644 (χμδ),[17] and among the Greeks it is Emmanouel (παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι Ἐμμανουήλ). And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of power, Eleêth, I disappear."

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[14] The meaning of this word is uncertain. Duling hints whether this could be a corruption of ὁ Πατήρ (the father). "Testament of Solomon," 968, note 6h. Jesus is called the God of the Hebrews in PGM IV. 3020 ("I conjure by the God of the Hebrews/ Jesus.")

[15] Cf. PGM LXI.28.

[16] Mark 15:34 ; Matt 27:46

[17] χ (600)+ μ (40)+ δ (4) = 644

It is interesting to note that the MS P reading lacks the ambiguous "Patike". The appearance of the number 644 is connected to the name Emmanouel since the numerical value of the name "Emmanuel" adds up to the value of 644. Moreover, the expression παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι Εμμανουήλ is a concise reference to Jesus. Another point in both texts is that Jesus appears to be regarded as an angel. When Solomon asked Beelzebul, "tell me which angel thwarts you." Beelzebul goes on to identify the angel whom we have now identified as Jesus.

My second text, TSol 12:3, is a tricky one:

> But there is a way by which I am thwarted (namely,) by (the site) which is marked 'place of the skull,' for there an angel of the great counsel[18] foresaw that I would suffer, and he will dwell publicly on the cross. He is the one who will thwart me, being the one among (the angels) to whom I am subject.

This is a loaded passage that Duling accepts as difficult.[19] Three elements which I have not mentioned earlier which may relate to the person of Jesus are: "place of the skull" (τοῦ . . . . τόπου ἐγκεφάλου)[20] and "the angel of the great counsel" (ἄγγελος τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς) and the mention of the cross (ἐπὶ ξύλου); the latter phrase literally means upon the wood or tree.[21]

Firstly, although the expression (τόπου ἐγκεφάλου) does not precisely cohere to what we have in the NT, the general thrust of the text points to the place of

[18] The Greek should be read thus instead of Duling's "an angel of the Wonderful Counsellor."
[19] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 955.
[20] Although Duling suggests that this expression literally means, "a place within the head," I think it could also mean, "a place of the head." The NT (Matt 27:33, Mark 15:22; Luke 23:33 and John 19:17) has κρανίον instead of the TSol's ἐγκεφάλου.

the crucifixion of Jesus. Mark 15: 22 has "the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted "the place of the skull"
(τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τόπον ὃ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος).
Matthew and John[22] have an identical phrase to the one we find in Mark's Gospel. Luke has a similar phrase but omits the name "Golgotha" which is common in the other three Gospels. At least, all four Gospels attest to the expression, "the place of the skull." The TSol does not mention "Golgotha." Although it attests to "the place of the skull" it nonetheless uses another word, ἐγκεφάλου, for "skull" instead of κρανίον used by the Gospel writers.

The second element, the reference to the angel who is the great counsel (ἄγγελος τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς), is not without problems. The passage in TSol 12:3 raises some questions. Who is this angel? Is this an allusion to Jesus or is it referring to another person? Is Jesus ever referred to as an angel in the NT? But as I have already suggested, in the first text Beelzebul was referring to a thwarting angel. And if the features in our text fit Jesus then he should be the one who is being alluded to here. McCown comments on the peculiarity of this text. He states that "one of the outstanding inconsistencies in the Testament is its introduction of Jesus as the "angel" who subdues certain demons."[23] If the angel is Jesus, then who is this "I" who will suffer? One would be rather surprised if Jackson does not comment on this. Unfortunately, his comment does not help to unravel the difficulty of the text. I agree with Duling that if the angel is not Jesus then the "I should suffer"

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[21] Although the Synoptics have σταυρος other NT passages have ξύλον which is also used to convey Christ's crucifixion. E.g., Gal 3:13; Deut 21:22-23 is behind this passage. See Acts 5:30, 10:39, 13:29;1 Pet 2:24; and Ascen. Isa. 3:13.
[22] Matt 27:33; John 19:17.

should perhaps be read as "he should suffer" thereby pointing to Jesus. As the aforementioned passage stands it still appears that Christ is portrayed as a thwarting angel, and the phrase "I should suffer" refers to the demon, the three-headed dragon spirit. Moreover, a passage in TSol 22 also concurs with the fact that Jesus is a thwarting angel for the Arabian wind demon: I said to him "By what angel are you thwarted?" He said, "By the one who is going to be born from a virgin and be crucified by the Jews" (v. 20).

Two observations relating to my forgoing analysis are worth noting. Firstly, the TSol's expression ἄγγελος τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς appears to be a verbal allusion to the LXX's version of Isa 9:6:
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος (MT פלא יועץ: "wonderful counsellor" = LXX "the angel of Great counsel"). [24] This may suggest that the author(s) of the TSol knew this popular phrase. Darrell D. Hannah suggests that this expression was popular amongst Christians, and might have some special appeal to those Christians with "syncretistic tendencies," in Rome, North Africa, Egypt and Asia Minor from the second and early third centuries.[25]

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[23] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 50.
[24] The understanding that at least two of the other titles in the text could be interpreted as angelic may have motivated this translation. See Charles A. Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence (AGAJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 176-83. Gieschen has argued that there is evidence in 1 Enoch, the Pseudepigrapha and the Qumran texts that human beings can be or become angelomorphic while on earth. In fact, there were angelomorphic humans in first century Judaism and in Christianity. With reference to Jesus Gieschen makes it clear that the angelomorphic dimension of Christ is presented from a functional perspective rather than ontological. See Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 28.
[25] Darrell D. Hannah, Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity (WUNT 2/109; Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1999), 209-213.

My second observation is the identification of an angel with Jesus. It does not appear that Jesus is ever clearly identified in the NT as an angel. In Hebrews, for example, he is depicted as above the angels. Stuckenbruck states that although Christ is not *explicitly* designated as ἀγγελος he is nonetheless portrayed as an angelic figure. He appears with a series of angels (Rev 14: 6-20). It appears that angelic features or characteristics have been associated with Jesus. Although this may not be evident in the Gospels, the connection is more apparent in Revelation.[26] Certainly in the NT Christ was perceived by the writers as superior to angels (Col 1:16-17; Heb 1: 7-8, 13; Rev 5: 8-13; John 1:51); however, Christ was associated with angelomorphic depictions. There are instances where angel motifs were utilised to illustrate the role of Christ; in Jude 5-7 Christ is identified with מלאך יהוה of the OT.[27]

In the writings of Paul to the Galatians Christ and God's angel are mentioned together in verse 14 of 4:11-14:

> (11) I am afraid I have laboured over you in vain.
> (12) Brethren, I beseech you, become as I am, for I also have become as you are. You did me no wrong;
> (13) you know it was because of a bodily ailment that I preached the gospel to you at first;
> (14) and though my condition was a trial to you, you did not scorn or despise me, but received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus.

The main point of this passage for my discussion is v. 14b:

ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Gieschen has taken the passage to mean that Christ is depicted as an angel. He points out

[26] Stuckenbruck, Angel Veneration and Christology, 208, (also note 3). See Christopher Rowland, The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity (London: SPCK, 1982), 100-103. Rowland points out that the risen Christ performs functions similarly to angel intermediaries (cf. Rev. 1:1 and 22:16). See also Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 245-69.

[27] On Christ and angel traditions, see Hannah, Michael and Christ, 151-62.

that the crux in the exegesis of 14b is the relationship between the two ὡς clauses, and that these clauses are in apposition to each other: "as God an angel of God" and "as Christ Jesus." Gieschen understands the ὡς clause as epexegetical[28] since the second clause explains or elaborates the first. Hence the translation "You received me as an angel of God (God's angel) namely, Christ Jesus," He thinks Paul must have understood Christ Jesus to be an angel of God or else he would not have placed both figures in apposition to each other. This interpretation represents a minority view amongst scholars.[29] The majority of scholars understood the ὡς as progressive rather than synonymous parallel.[30]Although the grammar may allow for both interpretations it seems unlikely that Paul would ever think of Jesus as an angel when he has referred to him the son of God. Moreover, Paul was trying to correct an error in Galatia. For instance, in 3:19 he contrasts the law given by angels with the promise of Christ. The third element is an allusion to the cross: he will dwell publicly on the cross. Is this again echoing the crucifixion of Jesus? This brings me to my fourth passage.

[28] Gieschen, Angelomorphic Christology, 314-15. Most exegetes as Gieschen points out interpret the ὡς clauses in terms of "distinct and increasing comparisons" meaning that Paul was received as if he were an angel. Paul usage of the ὡς clause as epexegetical could also be found in 1 Cor 3:1 and 2 Cor 2:17.
[29] Richard N. Longenecker, "Some Distinctive Early Christological Motifs," NTS (1967-68): 526-45, especially 532; and The Christological of Early Jewish Christianity (London: SCM, 1970), 31.
[30] Hannah, Michael and Christ, 155-56. James D. G. Dunn, Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation (London: SCM Press, 1980), 155-56. Ernest D. W. Burton, The Epistle to the Galatians (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921), 242.

This passage sheds light on TSol 15:10-12 which McCown identifies as a possible Christian redaction of recension B.[31] It contains various elements which have very clear parallels in the NT. The text reads:

> We will lead astray all the inhabited world for a long time until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross (ἐπὶ ξύλου). For there has not yet arisen a king like him, one who thwarts all of us, whose mother shall not have sexual intercourse with a man (οὗ ἡ μήτηρ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μιγήσεται). Who holds such authority over the spirits except that one? The one whom the first devil shall seek to tempt but shall not be able to overcome, the letters whose name add up to six hundred forty –four ---he is Emmanouel.

Jesus is presented in this passage as a greater successor to Solomon. Solomon fell but Jesus would eventually rule over demons. There are certainly overt elements in this text that are directly connected with Jesus' death on the cross, and the virgin birth. The allusion to the virgin birth in the TSol echoes the Matthean tradition (Matt 1:18-23); a Christian interpretation of Isa 7:14. In verse 23 Matthew appears to be quoting verbatim from this passage in Isaiah. The LXX renders the Hebrew 'almâ as parthenos:

> ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εμμανουήλ

While Matthew is using an OT text to apply to Jesus, the author of the TSol seems to be familiar with a tradition similar to the Matthean application of this OT passage. McCown has suggested that the allusion here is to the "permanent immaculacy of the virgin."[32] Whether the TSol text is alluding to a "perpetual virginity" as suggested by McCown or a "virginal parturition" is difficult to ascertain.

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[31] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 83-90. Appears only in MSS B and N.
[32] Ibid., 51.

There are allusions to the son of God; the cross; the temptation of Jesus by the devil;[33] Jesus' power over the demons in his exorcistic activities as recorded in the Gospels; his crucifixion, and the name of Emmanouel (Emannuel) and its relation to the cryptic number of 644. The mention of "Eloi" is related to the saying of Jesus on the cross[34] which itself is an allusion to Psalm 22:1. With these observations in mind, one can understand why McCown suggests that this text could have been the work of a Christian redactor who might have well familiar with the NT tradition.

The fifth passage is very similar to the previous text in that it also mentions the cross. This reference talks about the crucifixion in a rather plain manner to the extent of naming those who crucified this figure. TSol 22:20 reads as follows: I said to him by what angel are you thwarted? "By the one who is going to be born from a virgin and be crucified by the Jews."

A more specific reference to this incident could be found in the attestation of MS P:

> And I said to him "Is this your name?" He answered, "yes, for wherever I want, I alight and set fire and put to death." And I said to him, "By what angel are you thwarted?" And he said, "the sovereign God who has authority over me even to be heard, who is going to be born through a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross whom angels (and) archangels worship. He is the one who thwarts me and saps one of my great power which has been given to me by my father the devil."

So far one can conclude that there are a number of explicit references similar to the tradition of the NT pertaining to Jesus especially his virgin birth; temptation; and his ministry as connected with his authority over demons;[35] his crucifixion on the cross as described in the Gospels and Acts. Alexander

[33] Matt 4:1; Luke 4:1; Mark 1:12.
[34] Cf. Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46.

is right in suggesting that the allusions to Jesus and the virgin indicate Christian hands in the TSol.[36] There are no direct allusions to Revelation although TSol uses angel Christology similar to that of Revelation. The angelomorphic depictions of Christ in the NT are different from the TSol. The depiction in the latter as a potent thwarting angel is quite unique. In the TSol he is a powerful "thwarting" angel who functions in a demonological context.

Activities of Jesus

A reference to the activity of Jesus comes from TSol 11. The focus of any allusion to Jesus in this chapter is not so much with his crucifixion as it is with his ministry, especially the incident in Gerasa.[37] The response of the lion-shaped demon is significant for our discussion. When Solomon interrogated him he responded thus:

> I have another activity. I involve the legions of demons subject to me for I am at the places (where they are) when the sun is setting. The name for all the demons which are under me is legion (ὄνομα δὲ πᾶσι δαίμοσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμὲ ὃν λεγεῶνες). . . The demon said, " If I tell you his name, I place not only myself in chains, but also the legion of demons under me." (v.3)

Later on in the same chapter we read:

> By the name of the one who at one time is submitted to suffer many things (at the hands of men) whose name is Emmanouel but now he has bound us and will come to torture us (by driving us) into water at the cliff. As he moves about he is conjured up by means of three letters.[38] So I sentenced his legion to carry wood from the grove (of trees. (vv. 6-7)

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[35] Cf. TSol 15:10-12.
[36] He was referring particularly to 15:10; 11:3, and 22:20. See Alexander, "Incantations and Books of Magic," HJP 3,1:374. The virgin birth is also mentioned in Ascen. Isa. 11.
[37] Gergesenes or Gadarenes.
[38] MS P adds, "The great among men" in the opening of this verse and also attests to the three letters: χ, μ, δ which are used for the number 644, cf. 6:8. See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 27*.

The torturing of some demons by condemning them to water and the mention of the word "legion" (TSol 11:3, 5,7) are significant. Both are reminiscent of the story we find in Mark 5:1-13 and Matt 8:28-34 about the demoniac(s) from Gerasa. Furthermore, in TSol 5:11 we find Asmodeus begging Solomon that he should not be condemned to water.[39]

The word Legion is mentioned four times in the TSol in the context of the thwarting angel called Emmanouel. The word appears once in Matthew and Luke and twice in Mark. In Matthew it is a reference to the twelve legions of angel whom the father could have sent to rescue Christ if he had requested it. It is only in Mark and Luke that we find a similar connection to what we find in the aforementioned passages of the TSol. In Mark 5:9 the demon was speaking through the possessed about his identity: "my name is legion for we are many" (λεγιὼν ὀνομά μοι ὅτι πολλοί ἐσμεν); v. 15 of the same chapter we read, ". . the one was possessed with the devil, who had had the legion" (τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον . . . τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγεῶνα). In Mark 5:7 a common technical term of adjuration (ὁρκίζω) used in exorcism is utilised by Mark to describe Jesus' instruction to the evil spirit to exit the possessed; a similar term is also found in Acts 19:13, again in a context of exorcism. The same word occurs in TSol 5:9; 6:8; 11:6; 18:20, 31,33; and 25:8, however, it appears that the TSol has a penchant for ἀναχωρεῖν which the author(s) of the TSol utilised at least thirty times in TSol 18. This is a term of expulsion not used in NT in the context of exorcism.

[39] On the efficacy of water against demons and evil spirits, see J. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion (New York: Atheneum, 1987). 150.

The Demonic Cry

The response by the demons in the TSol echoes what we find in the Gospels. One that comes to mind is that of the screaming response of the demon. Two words which are used to describe the screaming or crying out of a demon when confronted in the TSol are κραυγάζω[40] and κράζω.[41] In TSol 1:12 we read "But the demon screamed " (ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἐκραύγασε); and later in verse 13[42] of the same chapter we read the following about the same demon: "crying out with a great voice" (κράζων μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ). In 3:4 Beelzebul cried out (καὶ ἀνέκραξεν ὁ Βεελζεβοὺλ).

The aforementioned demonic response also plays an important function in Mark's narratives dealing with demons. In Mark 1:23-26 we read about the unclean spirit that cried with a loud voice within the man. In v. 23 the possessed cried out: ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαρθάρτῳ καὶ ἀνέκραξεν (a man with an unclean spirit cried out); and in the cry is repeated v. 26 when the demon left him: "and when the unclean spirit had torn him, he cried with a loud voice." (καὶ σπάραξαν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ φωνῆσαν[43] φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτου). In Mark 5:5, 7, the demon screamed within the man appealing to Jesus: "And he cried with a loud voice (καὶ κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει), and in 9:26 a similar phrase appears to describe a demonic cry (καὶ κράξαν). Similarly, Luke describes the demonic response in Luke 4:41. He informs us about demons crying out of the

[40] TSol 1:12; 1:14 (Q, Recension. C);
[41] TSol 1:14, 3:4 (L); 26:9 (H)[a doxology?].
[42] 1:14 of McCown's Greek text.
[43] This word is attested by ℵ, B, L etc. (Nestle Aland); is attested by A, C, Q f [1-13] etc. (Nestle Aland). V. Taylor suggests that φωνῆσαν should be read, for if κράζαν had stood in the text

possessed: καὶ δαιμόνια κραυγάζοντα καὶ λέγοντα. It is noted that Luke uses κραυγάζω[44] instead of Mark's κράζω. The latter is nonetheless attested by ℵ, B, C. K, N, R, Θ etc. This description is taken over from Mark (3:10-11).[45] The demon's response is most probably an acknowledgement of the power of the one who does the exorcism; in this case, it was Jesus. Luke has taken over Mark both in confession of the demon and in the rebukes addressed by Jesus to them to be silent.[46]

The Demonic Effect on the Possessed

It appears that the demon not only cries or screams but also usually molests his host.[47] There are two TSol passages that I shall examine. The first is TSol 12:2: "finally, I strike men [on] the body and I make (them) fall down, foam (at their mouth) and grind their teeth,

(καὶ τύπτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ποιῶ καταπίπτειν καὶ ἀφιριζειν καὶ τριζειν τοὺς ὀδόντας). This is the activity of the three-headed dragon spirit. The second passage is TSol 18:21:

> The seventeenth said, "I am Ieropa. I sit on the stomach of a man and cause convulsions in the bath; and on the street I find the man and make (him) fall to the ground. Whoever says into the right ear of the afflicted for the third time, Iouda Zizabou, you see, makes me retreat."
>
> ὁ ἕβδομος καὶ δέκατος ἐφη· ἐγὼ Ἱεροπὰ καλοῦμαι. ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάχου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθέζομαι, καὶ ποιῶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν βαλανείῳ· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ εὑρίσκω τὸν ἀνθρωπον καὶ πτωματίζω. ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς δεξιὸν ὠτίον τοῦ πάσχοντος ἐκ τρίτου· ἰουδα ζιζαβου ἰδε, ποιεῖ με ἀναχωρεῖν.

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no one would have altered it. Taylor, The Gospel According to St Mark (London: Macmillan, 1952), 175.

[44] Attested by A, D, L (Q), W, Γ Δ etc. (Nestle Aland).

[45] Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 196.

[46] Ibid., 197.

[47] See my treatment of Josephus in chapter 7.

What we have here are two manifestations of demonic possession: convulsions and falling to the ground. A similar molestation occurs in Mark's narration of the deaf and dumb spirit that possessed the boy in Mark 9:18-22:

> (18) and whenever it (the demon) seizes him, it dashes him down; and he foams and grinds his teeth and becomes rigid. . .(20) and he fell on the ground and rolled about, foaming at the mouth.
>
> (18)καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ῥησσει αὐτον καὶ ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας ξηραίνεται. . . .. (20) καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυλίετο ἀφρίζων.

Luke (9:39) has a similar report to that of Mark, and the phraseology describing the effect of the demon on his host is quite close except that Luke uses ἀφρός instead of ἀφρίζω. Another difference in Luke's account is that he does not mention anything about "the grinding of the teeth (τρίζω)." Mark has two accounts of this incident and Luke's portrayal of this incident is different from that of Mark's.[48] In Luke 9:42 the unclean spirit (ἀκάθαρτος πνεύματος) is identified as a demon (τὸ δαιμόνιον).[49] It seems that the TSol's phraseology is closer to that of Mark's account.

[48] Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 391.
[49] Fitzmyer, The Gospel According to Luke (I- IX). (2nd ed.; AB 28; Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1981), 808.

The "Son of David" Title[50]

Three interpretations have emerged as an attempt to understand the "son of David" title in the NT. Two are based on the traditions found in the Old Testament and developed in the Hellenistic period.[51] Firstly, the title is primarily viewed as designation of a politico-nationalistic figure with messianic overtones based on 2 Sam 7:12-16 and Psalms of Solomon 17:4, 21-32.[52] The second is a reflection of Solomon traditions especially in the light of Solomon's growing reputation in the Hellenistic world as a healer and an exorcist par excellence.[53] Interestingly, the figure of Solomon does not feature prominently in the NT. The name is mentioned in Matt 12:42 and 6:29 (cf. Luke 12:27). In both instances the figure of Solomon shows signs of diminution on two accounts: seemingly, a polemic against his wealth and

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[50] A number of significant works have been written on the "son of David" title; see Georg Strecker, Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit (FRLANT 82; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); Reinhart Hummel Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium (BEVT 33; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1963) 121-22; Rolf Walker, Die Heilsgeschichte im Ersten Evangelium (FRLANT 91; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 129-132; Alfred Suhl, "Der Davidssohn im Matthäus-Evangelium," ZNW 59 (1968) 69, 75-76, 81; C. Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn: Eine Tradistionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (FRLANT 98; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 82, 88-89; Alexander Sand, Das Gesetz und die Propheten: Untersuchungen Zur Theologie des Evangeliums nach Matthäus (Biblische Untersuchungen 11; Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1974), 147, 150, 162-67; Loren R. Fisher, "Can this be the Son of David?" in Jesus and the Historian: Written in Honour of Ernest Cadman Colwell (ed. F. T. Trotter; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968) 82-97; James M. Gibbs, "Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's use of the Title 'Son of David,'" NTS 10 (1963-64): 446-64; Fitzmyer, "The Son of David Tradition and Matt. 22: 41-46 and Parallels," Concilium 20 (1967): 40-45; E. Lövestam, "Davids-Son-Kristologin hos Synoptikerna," Svensk exegetisk årsbok XV (1972), 198-210; Berger, "Die Königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments," 1-44; Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," JBL 95/4 (1976): 591-602; Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," NTS 24 (1978): 392-410; "Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David," HTR 68 (1975): 235-52. W. R. G. Loader, "Son of David, Blindness, Possession, and Duality in Matthew," CBQ 44 (1982): 571-585.

[51] Achtemeier, "And He Followed Him: Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10: 46-52," Semeia 11 (1978): 115-45.

[52] Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn, 16-24.

[53] Evidence of this is found in Wis 7:15-22 and writings of Josephus in Antiquities. Fisher argues for this view based on Aramaic incantation bowls which bear the title. See my discussion on Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Amulets and the TSol; also Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David," HTR 68 (1975):235-52. Lövestam (vide supra note 50) believes that there was a tradition(s) about Solomon's magical power in Palestine

wisdom respectively. Thirdly, some scholars have suggested that the use of the "son of David" title in the NT has much to do with post-Easter Christian reflections on Jesus rather than any clear OT or Jewish traditions.[54]

The son of David appears in Matthew, Mark and Luke's Gospels. John's Gospel lacks this title. Luke has five references[55] including the genealogical notice in 3:31 and Matthew has the most frequent usage of eleven references.[56] Two (10:47, 48) of Mark's four references (10:47, 48 and 12: 35) are connected with healing, and the others have to do with Jesus' genealogical relation to David. The former appears in the short pericope 10:46-52 which parallels accounts in Matt 20:29-34 and Luke 18:35-43. The second reference also parallels Luke's and Matthew's accounts. It is generally accepted that Mark's work provides the basis for Matthew's, and he has adapted Mark's usage in his work. J. Achtemeier, argues that the "son of David" title in the Bartimaeus story in Mark (Mark 10:46-52) is unlikely to be an insertion by Mark[57] therefore this may mean that the title in Mark was already contained in the story Mark inherited. The second set of references (12:35-37) to the son of David has to do with the identity of the Messiah. Here Jesus himself raises the issue.

Luke's genealogical list in 3:23-37 has two peculiarities. It is curious that the line of descent from David is traced through Nathan the son of David and not

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contemporary to the Gospel writers. This might have contributed to the Christian understanding of Jesus as a type of Solomon.

[54] F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity (London: Lutterworth, 1969), 263; Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn, 45-46.

[55] Luke 18:38, 39; 20:41-44 and 3:31.

[56] 1:1, 20; 9:27; 12: 23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15; 22:42, 45

through Solomon. The second is the inclusion of Zerubabbel in the list. The reference in 3:31 has nothing to do with Jesus' Messiahship, it has to do with Jesus' Davidic ancestry.[58] The other four references (20: 41, 44; 18: 38-39) have parallels to both Matthew's and Mark's Gospels. The titles in 18: 38, 39, which appears in the short passage 18:35-43, parallel Mark 10:42-48 and Matt 20:29-34. The references in 20:41, 44 parallel Matt 22: 41-46 and Mark 12:35-37. Fitzmyer intimates that the title in 18:38-39 has no special significance in Luke such as it has in Matthew; Luke has it because it was in Mark, who has inherited it from tradition. Luke uses Mark's pericope and no where else does he use the title to signify the work of Jesus. The title in 20:41-44, nonetheless, denotes a Messiahship most probably in the political sense.[59] The Lukan genealogy is an attempt to combine the two themes relating to Jesus: the son of David and the son of God. Both Mark 12:35-37 and the Lukan genealogy highlight Jesus as of ultimate significance in world history. Although he is acknowledged as the son of David, he is not just another son of David but a greater David.[60]

Matthew, who has a penchant for the title, has recorded eleven occurrences. This includes Matthew's reference to Jesus as the son of David in his opening sentence in chapter 1 (v. 1); and his allusion to the title in 1:20, a designation for Joseph. The Davidic sonship is emphasised more strongly in Matthew than in the other Gospels. This has led some scholars to think that the title

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[57] Achtemeier, "And He Followed Him: Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10:46-52," 115-45. See also E. Lohse, "υἱὸς Δανίδ," TDNT 8:478-488.
[58] For a detailed discussion on this, see Richard J. Bauckham, Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1990), 326-71.
[59] Marshall, The Gospel of Luke, 693.
[60] Bauckham, Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church, 365-67.

has a special significance in Matthew's perception. Moreover, several motifs such as "blindness," "exorcism," "Messiahship" and "unbelief" have also been connected with this title. Matthew, as scholars have generally accepted, follows Mark and appears to have added Mark's work to his tradition in Matt 12:23; 15:22 and 21:15 and then duplicates the Marcan son of David's passage (Mark 10: 46-43) in Matt 9:27-31 and Matt 20: 29-34. It is also suggested that in six instances[61] Matthew himself might have introduced this title into his text and in four of these cases he has taken it from Mark.[62]

There are two sets of texts carrying the title in the Synoptic Gospels that concern me. The first is Mark 10:46-52 which parallels Matt 20:29-34; 9:27-31, and Luke 18:35-43. These passages are what I will regard as the "son of David, have mercy upon me/us" passages. The context of these passages has to do with an appeal to Jesus for healing a blind man or two blind men as the case is in Matthew. The second group of Matthean texts where the title occurs is found in a context dealing with demonic possession and exorcism. The first passage is Matt 12:22-30, 42-45. The parallel to these passages is in Mark (3:23-27) and Luke (11:17-23). The pivotal point appears to be the Beelzebul controversy and Jesus' authority. Curiously, the parallel passages in Mark and Luke do not have the title. Incidentally, in Luke's passage there is reference to the "finger of God" (ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ) through which demons are incapacitated in 11:20. This is reminiscent of an OT anthropomorphism in the LXX (Exod 8:15= 8:19 Evv) where the magicians in Egypt perceived the wonders performed by Moses as the "finger of God" (δάκτυλος θεοῦ for the

[61] 1: 1; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9,15; and 1:20 which might be a redaction piece. See Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," 591.

Hebrew אֱלֹהִים אֶצְבַּע). In the TSol the signet ring is sometimes referred to as the "ring of God" (τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ . . .τοῦ θεοῦ) in 7:3, 8:12; 10:7; 26:9 (MS H) or the "seal of God" (σφραγῖδος τοῦ θεοῦ) in 1:7, 10:6 and 15:7. Conceptually, "the ring God" may parallel the "the finger of God" (δάκτυλος τοῦ θεοὺ) utilised by both the LXX in Exodus and Luke in contexts that deal with wonder working and exorcism. The second text is Matt 15:22-28 and its parallel passage in Mark 7:24-30 again lacks the title. This text is another "son of David, have mercy on me" passage that is intricately linked with demonic possession.

With particular emphasis on the second group of texts, Matthew seems to have associated the title particularly with Jesus as a healer. Does Matthew intend to tell us that Jesus was a type of Solomon in the sense that he was an exorcist? There is the assertion that Matthew does link the title "son of David" with Jesus' activity of healing especially in his exorcistic activity,[63] and a possibility of a comparison made between Jesus and Solomon. There might have been an attempt to depict the earthly Jesus as one who is more than Solomon, and the "son of David" title in the NT may carry overtones other than those of Messiahship.[64]

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[62] See Lohse,"υἱος Δανίδ," 486.
[63] Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," 592-601; Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 111-119.
[64] C. Burger links the title with healing; Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn, 72ff. Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," NTS 24 (1978): 392-410. See McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," 14-15.Church fathers depicted Jesus as a type of Solomon; See Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica 8.1.53.

In a later discussion of the Incantation bowls and amulets I will attempt to pinpoint the several occurrences and significance of the "son of David" title in the TSol.[65] One could say the use of the expression is generally in the context of demonology which is connected with astrology. However, in TSol 20:1 (MS H), we hear the cry of the old workman: "King Solomon, Son of David, have mercy upon me" (βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυείδ ἐλέησόν με).[66] This cry is reminiscent of blind Bartimaeus in Mark 10:47. Unfortunately, the context in TSol is to do with an appeal to Solomon for Justice and revenge and has nothing whatsoever to do with the thwarting of demons. Burger suggests that the TSol is independent of the NT[67] although Duling intimates that there is some kind of dependence on the NT, perhaps an oral connection.[68] Although the TSol echoes an expression also found in the Synoptic Gospel there is not enough evidence to suggest that the TSol has borrowed this from the NT. The one to whom the phrase is addressed in the TSol is Solomon and not Jesus.

The usage of the "son of David" title in the TSol of Solomon has no connection with Jesus in the NT who is generally referred to by the title in the Synoptics. The TSol applies this title exclusively to Solomon. In the TSol the expression is clearly a reference to Solomon, the subjugator of demons and evil spirits par excellence. The title occurs in TSol with no definite pattern in four different places. Firstly, it appears in the titles of the TSol (vide supra

[65] The titles of MSS PQI; and Rec C: 12:1, 13:12; MS D 1:1; MS E 11:1 and MS H 26:9. We also have Solomon referred to as, "son of the prophet David" in MS E 1:1, 2:1, and MSS HIL P and D 5:10.
[66] Duling does not think that this is independent enough of the NT to support a non-Christian, Jewish use of the son of David as a title. See "Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David," HTR 68 (1975): 249.
[67] Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn, 7.

note 67); secondly, once in a context where Solomon encounters a demon (5:10); thirdly, in appeal by the aged man for justice (20:1) and finally, at the end of the testament (26:9).

Preliminary Conclusions

The analysis indicates that TSol certainly allude to characters also found in the NT: the Queen of Sheba and Beelzebul. The former character appears only in Matthew and Mark, while the latter is mentioned in all the Synoptic Gospels. The stories, themes and motifs concerning Jesus including his birth and his work in driving of demons found in the TSol come primarily from the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover, the TSol appears to have a penchant for Markan phrases and vocabulary in those stories pertaining to demonic activities: the demonic cry and effect on the possessed; Jesus' cry on the cross; and the technical term of adjuration. The reference to "the angel of the great counsel" and the Emmanuel passage may owe their occurrence not because of a direct influence of or literary borrowing from the NT but perhaps to (a) circulating Pre-NT tradition. The similarities between the NT and the TSol in this area may not only point to a common source—(i.e. the LXX) but also an auricular knowledge of the NT which the author accessed and this may help to explain the dissimilarities in parallel stories, themes and motifs.

The allusions to Jesus and his ministry, Beelzebul and the Queen of Sheba are reminiscent of the NT but are not identical. Furthermore, in the TSol we find Jesus being referred to as an angel who will thwart several demons. In TSol 15:10-11, we are told about one who will have unlimited power over the

[68] Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David," 243, 249.

demons; he will thwart all of them, and he is that one who holds the authority over the spirits hence the TSol predicts the coming of one greater than Solomon. The figure who is being referred to here is Jesus. There is clear indication that the "son of David" title has no connection with Jesus of the NT. Moreover, to appeal to a literary dependence for a short phrase which is reminiscent of Mark 10:47 seems inappropriate. What has emerged from this discussion is the likelihood that the Christian composer of the TSol has combined several traditions. Parallels may be explained by shared use of literary language, literary conventions and common ideas. Furthermore the author(s) of the TSol may have utilised the NT traditions, post NT oral traditions together with existing Jewish traditions about Solomon.

Chapter 10

Rabbinic Literature and the TSol

Introduction

My main concern here is to compare King Solomon and related motifs such as Solomon and Ashmedai, Solomon's wisdom, the shamir with similar stories and motifs found in the TSol. Other motifs such as the luminescent precious stone(s) although not directly connected with Solomon in rabbinic literature will be discussed since they appear in the TSol. Although my central focus will be stories and motifs in the Babylonian Talmud (BT) I shall nonetheless pay special attention to the Mishnah, Tosefta, Midrashim[1] and collections of homilies such as Pesikta de Rab. Kahana (PRK)[2] and Pesikta Rabbati[3] since some of the motifs discussed in the BT also found in these documents. The rabbinic materials to which I shall confine myself will be between 400 and 800 CE and anything later will only be incidental.

The redactional activity for both Talmuds is intricate. The process is even more complicated for the BT[4] which has more scriptural units than the PT;

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[1] This corpus of rabbinic literature written between 500 and 1100 CE contains a mélange of biblical materials and the rabbis' commentaries on biblical texts. For a detailed discussion, see G. Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (2d ed. trans. Markus Bockmuehl; T & T Clark, 1996), 234-46; and Gary G. Porton, "Midrash" in ABD 4:818-22.

[2] An old homiletic Midrash for readings during festivals and special Sabbaths composed most probably in Palestine. This is a compilation of utterances from teachers as early as the first century and as late as the fifth century CE. Texts are published in William. G. Braude and Israel J. Kapstein, Pesikta de Rab Kahana (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1975), xxiv, xlvi; Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 291-96.

[3] I shall be quoting from William G. Braude's translation: Pesikta Rabbati: Discourses for Feasts, Fasts and Special Sabbaths (2 vols. Yale Judaic Series 18; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). Many arguments favour a Palestinian provenance and the document is dated in the sixth or seventh century CE. See Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 296-302.

[4] Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 194-99.

and contains more materials unrelated to the Mishnah.[5] Gary G. Porton notes that substantive addition to the text continued through the 6th and 7th centuries although the BT is regarded as a closed work by the 8th century CE; extensive materials, however, attributable to authorities of the 8th and 9th centuries continued to find their way into the text.[6] The PT has suffered in its textual corruptions due to omissions and reinsertion of parallel materials.[7] Attempts have been made to date PT more precisely around 410-420 CE.[8]

The fear of demons was widespread in rabbinic society. Demons and spirits were believed to be perpetrators of evil occurrences including the cause of many diseases.[9] In the BT demons are pictured as angels;[10] three general names that were utilised in Eretz Israel were מזיקים (harmers), שדים (devils) and רוחת (spirits). Of course, the Jews in Babylon as well lived in a world they perceived was filled with demons, spirits, malevolent but occasionally benevolent who lived in all sorts of awkward places such as empty buildings, roofs of houses, the air, trees, water and privies. Demons conversed with men and revealed secrets to them. In b. Pesah. 110-110b R. Joseph and R. Papa had a friendly conversation with a demon who spoke to the rabbis about Ashmedai, the king of demons.

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[5] Porton , "Talmud" in ABD 6:313-14.
[6] Porton, "Talmud," 313-14.
[7] Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 180-81.
[8] Ibid., 171.
[9] Cf. b. Pesah. 11b; b. Hul. 105b and b. Git. 68b; b. Yoma 83b, b. Shab 66b. For more on rabbinic demonology, see P. Billerbeck, "Zur altjüdischen Dämonologie" in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (ed., H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck; München: Beck, 1928), 4: 501-535; and N. Janowitz, Magic in the Roman World Magic in the Roman World: Pagan, Jews and Christians (London/ New York: Routledge, 2001), 20-46.
[10] Ginzberg, A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud. A Study of the Development of the Halakah and Haggadah in Palestine and Baylonia (vol.1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1941), xxxiii-xxxvi. A. Goldberg, "The Palestinian Talmud" in The

The Shamir in Rabbinic Literature

In the Hebrew Bible the word "shamir (שמיר) occurs eleven times, and the word is used in three different ways apart from its usage as a personal name (cf. Judg 10:1-2; Josh 15:48; 1 Chr 24:24).[11] None of these passages is in any way connected with the Temple or refers to the shamir as being used for writing on the ephod and the priest breastplate which is attested in some rabbinic texts. It must be said that rabbinic literature attests to different versions of the building of the Temple some of which are contradictory. Three questions that pertain to the shamir are: (1) What is the shamir? (2) Where and how is it obtained? (3) What is its function? While these questions will not necessarily be answered in this order, they will however be borne in mind as I examine various passages.

My first evidence comes from the Mishnah; for the first time the shamir is linked with the Temple:

> When the Temple was destroyed, the shamir-worm ceased, and the honey of Zophim; (m. Sotah 9:12b)

This motif is further elaborated in the Tosefta[12] which seems to form the basis for the Talmudic discourse that I shall be focussing on later. In t. Sotah 15.1 we read the following:

Literature of the Sages. First Part: Oral Tora, Halakha, Mishna, Tosefta, Talmud, External Tractates (CRINT 2,3. ed. S. Safrai. Assen, Netherlands, 1987), 323-45.

[11] (a) The word is used 8 times in Isaiah to describe a thorn bush or briers (5:6; 7:23-25; 9:17; 10:17; 27: 4; 32:13). (b) It connotes hardness as well as sharpness in Jer 17:1. (c) It is also used to describe someone who is adamant as in Zech 7:12 or Ezek 3:9. The majority of commentators concur that the word is best rendered "diamond."

[12] The Tosefta is a collection of materials that is integral to the literary history of the two Talmuds which contributed to the exegesis of the Mishnah. See J. Neusner, The Tosefta. Translated from the Hebrew. Second Division: Moed (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1981), ix. The Tosefta contains both Amoraic and Tannaitic elements. See Neusner, The

A. *When the Temple was destroyed, the shamir-worm ceased, and the honey of Supim* (m. Sotah. 9:12b).
B. Said R. Judah, "What is the character of this worm? It is a creature from the six days of creation. When they put it on stones or on beams, they are opened up before it like the pages of a notebook. And not only so, but when they put it on iron [the iron] is split and falls apart before it. And nothing can stand before it.
C. "How is it kept? They wrap it in the tufts of wool and put it in a lead tube full of barley- bran."
D. "And with it Solomon built the Temple as it is said, *There was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was being built* (1 Kgs 6.7)," the words of R. Judah.
E. R. Nehemiah says "They sawed with a saw outside, as it is said, *all these were costly stones . . . . sawed with saws in the house and outside*" (1 Kgs 7.9).
F. Why does Scripture say, *Inside the house and outside*? Inside the house they were not heard, for they prepared them outside and brought them inside."
G. Said Rabbi, "The opinion of R. Judah seems to me preferable in regard to the stones of the sanctuary, and the opinion of R. Nehemiah in regard to the stones of [Solomon's house][13]."

This lengthy quotation from the Tosefta represents the rabbis' illumination on a text from the Mishnah regarding the shamir-worm. A parallel discussion can be found in the PT.[14] The Tosefta and Talmuds in this case appear simultaneously to be supplementing the Mishnah by drawing from some form of tradition and reflecting on the Scriptures. Different views emerge in the passage above. While in b. Pesah. 54a it is simply stated that one of the ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath was the shamir. R. Judah's view as expressed in the text suggests that the shamir is a creature, a worm which

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Tosefta. Translated from the Hebrew. Sixth Division:TOHOROT (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1977), x. See Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 152-58; and The Tosefta. Translated from Hebrew. Third Division: Nashim (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1979), ix. Herbert Danby states that the Tosefta covers similar ground as the Mishnah but in a freer manner, frequently repeating, occasionally contradiction and constantly supplementing it. See Herbert Danby, Tractate Sanhedrin. Mishnah and Tosefta: The Judicial Procedure of the Jews as Codified towards the End of the Second Century A.D. (trans. from Hebrew; London: SPCK, 1919). On the relationship between the Talmuds and the Tosefta, see Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 155-58.

[13] "Solomon's house" is unwarranted because the subject of the discussion in the biblical text is the Temple structure, the house of the Lord and not Solomon's house.

[14] y. Sotah 9:13 (Neusner's English Translation: The Talmud of the Land of Israel: An Academic Commentary to the Second, Third, and Fourth Divisions (Atlanta. Georgia: Atlanta, Georgia, 1998-).

was used by Solomon to build the Temple; this notion is linked with 1 Kgs 6:7. Although the exact nature of the shamir[15] is not revealed, its function in connection with the Temple building is made known.

Below is a passage from b. Sotah 48b which follows a similar pattern of discussion of the shamir in t. Sotah. J. Neusner has pointed out that some passages in the Talmuds treat the exegesis of the Tosefta[16]and this seems to be the case here.

> When [the second Temple] was destroyed, the shamir ceased etc. Our Rabbis taught: With the shamir Solomon built the Temple, as it is said, And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready at quarry. The words are to be understood as they were written; such is the statement of R. Judah. R. Nehemiah asked him, Is it possible to say so? Has it not been stated, All these were of costly stones . . . . sawed with saws! If that be so, why is there a text to state, There was neither hammer, nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in the building? [it means] that they prepared them outside and brought them within. Rabbi said: The statement of R. Judah is probable in connection with the stones of the sanctuary, and the statement of R. Nehemiah in connection with [Solomon's] house. For what purpose, then, according to R. Nehemiah, was the shamir necessary?—It was required as taught in the following: We may not write with ink upon these stones, because it is said like the engravings of signet, nor cut into them with a knife because it is said, like the engravings of a signet (Exod 28:11) nor cut into them with a knife because it is said, in their setttings (Exod 28:20); but he writes with ink upon them, shows the shamir [the writtten strokes] on the outside, and these split of their own accord, like a fig which splits open in summer and nothing at all is lost, or like a valley which splits asunder in the rainy season and nothing at all is lost. Our Rabbis taught: The shamir is a creature about the size of a barley-corn, and was created during the six days of creation. No hard substance can withstand it. How is it kept? They wrap it in tufts of wool and place it in a leaden tube full of barley-bran.

We will notice that b. Sotah 48b elaborates on the function of the shamir. It is clear that the crux of the discussion in the Tosefta and b. Sot. is the function of the shamir. Hence, one may infer that according to the rabbinic discussion,

[15] Cf. m. Abot 5.6. Here the shamir was one of the ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath.

it seems that the shamir was used for the stones in the sanctuary, viz., "the stones of the ephod and the priest's breastplate" and not "the stones use for the building structure of the Temple."

Moreover, two texts from 1 Kings are brought to the fore in both Talmud and Tosefta passages. What we have here is a motif that is inextricably linked with the Temple building project for the first time in extra-biblical material. R. Judah has gone into great lengths describing the shamir. The Tosefta takes over the motif and then expounds it. R. Judah is here suggesting that the shamir-worm was used by Solomon to build the Temple and that is why it is said "neither hammer nor axe, nor any iron tool of iron is heard in the house while it was being built." Are the rabbis quoting Scriptural passages in 1 Kings to justify the function of the shamir or is its presence an attempt to explain a somewhat enigmatic passage of 1 Kgs 6:7? I would like to make two observations here. Firstly, what is this shamir? Is it an animal, vegetable or plant? Some of the passages seem to indicate that it is a creature, a worm the size of a barley-corn. Other passages simply state that the shamir was one of those things God created on the eve of the Sabbath.[17] Secondly, what is its purpose? Two views are presented in discussions regarding its function. The first is its use in the Temple construction, and the second, is the use for writing on the stones in the sanctuary. The latter function reflects a minority view.

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[16] Neusner, The Tosefta, 6.x.
[17] Contra b. Abot 5 where it is stated that the shamir was created on the eve of the Sabbath. The Targum on Num 22:28 lists diamond and demons as two of the ten things created (Ps.-J. 22:28).

Another aspect to this discussion is the use of iron tools. The aversion for iron tools can also be found in b. Mid. 3.4. What has been related in the Tosefta is in conformity with an older tradition, a Pentateuchal tradition that forbids the use of iron tools hence "undressed/ unhewn stones" (אבנים שלמות) were preferred to hewn stones. The tradition that no iron tools were used in the building of the Temple goes back to the Pentateuchal traditions where it was strictly forbidden to use hewn stones in the altar: "And if you make me an altar of stone, you shall not build it of hewn stones (אבנים שלמות); for if you wield your tool upon it you profane it (Exod 20:25 RSV)."[18] The prohibition that no "iron" (ברזל) tool should be used actually has its origin in Deut 27:5-6. The passage reads:

> And there you shall build an altar to the LORD your God, an altar of stones; you shall lift up no iron (ברזל) tool upon them. You shall build an altar to the Lord your God of unhewn stones (אבנים שלמות); and you shall offer burnt offerings on it to the Lord your God (RSV).

The Deuteronomy passage has two components to it. The first is the negative command that no iron (ברזל) tool or implement should be used; and the second is the positive command that only unhewn/ undressed stones (אבנים שלמות) should be used. This is a pre-monarchic passage that deals with the altar and originally has no connection with the Temple.

What about our text in 1 Kgs 6:7? This is a pivotal text utilised by the rabbis in the Tosefta passage. To remind ourselves of the text again:

והבית בהבנתו אבן־ שלמה מסע נבנה
ומקבות והגרזן כל־ כלי ברזל
לא־נשמע בנית בהבנתו׃

[18] Cf. 27:5-6.

> And the Temple when it was being built was built of finished quarried stone and there was not heard any hammer or axe nor any iron tool in the Temple while it was being built. (bd-b)

The conundrum of the above verse is not so much with the text itself as its context, viz., chapter 6. Anyone who peruses this chapter will notice the oddity of verse 7. The whole chapter seems to be discussing the side chambers of the Temple, and then suddenly appears the insertion of verse 7. This has led Burney to suggest that the verse is an awkward interruption. He has also intimated that this must have been an insertion by a post-exilic editor, and in the LXX the verse was added by a copyist from a Hebrew MS.[19] The addition appears to promote the distinction between אבנים שלמות (undressed stones) used for the Temple and dressed stones used for secular building constructions such as the court and the palace (1 Kgs 6:36; 7:9-12). This distinction has its origin in the Pentateuchal tradition that prohibits the use of iron on stones for the altar.

What we have in 1 Kgs 6:7 is a recontextualisation[20] of an ancient tradition found in Deut 27:5-6 dealing with the altar for a different life setting connected with the Temple. In other words, a pre-monarchic prescription has been adapted for use in a monarchic period. The exegetical motivation here is based on analogy between the altar and the Temple. The reinterpretation of the Pentateuchal tradition in the context of 1 Kings 6 for a new Sitz im Leben is not without problems. This problem has warranted an "exegetical qualified

[19] Burney, (Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, 64-65), Gray, (I and II Kings, 165) and Jones, (1 and 2 Kings,165) suggest that this is an addition by a Deuteronomistic redactor while De Vries, (1 Kings, 95) denies this although accepts that the verse was not part of the original chapter.

analogy" in that though the Temple in 1 Kgs 6:7 was built with hewn stones, no iron tool was heard in the Temple construction. Since in the ancient tradition unhewn stones were forbidden in the altar, the exegete was faced with a dilemma of recontextualising this ancient tradition without creating a tension. He does so by the respecification[21] of the older tradition; hewn stones can be used but only if they are hewn elsewhere. This was still a problem for the rabbinic exegete as he tries to reconcile Deut 27:5-6 with 1 Kgs 6:7.

The tradition in the Tosefta surely obviated the need for iron tools in the Temple construction by appealing to the shamir. It seems to me that the shamir is an exegetical technique used by the rabbis to explain how 1 Kgs 6:7 was possible in Solomon's building activity. This may help to reconcile Deut 27:5-6, an older tradition that prohibits the use of iron tool. It is the shamir that will provide the basis for one the striking narratives in the Babylonian Gittin. The rabbis, being exegetes, when confronted with a problematic text looked elsewhere to find an answer. The answer may have come from scripture itself. I have already pointed out that the Hebrew Bible did mention the shamir although not in the sense that was employed by the rabbis.

The identity of the shamir is still not clear although few passages have identified it as a creature. The two views regarding the function of the shamir are connected with the Temple. The first is its use in the actual construction of the Temple building. The second view is that it was used for writing on the stones of the ephod and the breastplate.

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[20] Michael Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 23-24.

The shamir appears again in a passage in Midrash Psalms:

> . . . . And the Shamir; it looked like a kernel of barley and was kept in a leaden vessel filled with lint, but when it was put even on top of a mountain or upon cliffs, it would cut through until it reached the base. Solomon cut all the stones for the Temple with it, for the Torah says, *Thou shall lift up no iron tool upon them* (Deut 27:5). Who brought the Shamir to Solomon? The eagle fetched it from Garden of Eden, for *Solomon . . . spoke also to beasts and to birds* (1 Kgs 5:13) saying: "Where is the Shamir hidden away?" and the eagle went and fetched it. There are some who say that it was not the eagle, but the hoopoe, that fetched the Shamir. Midr. Ps. 78:11)

This passage appears to represent an interesting variant of the shamir story. And what follows this passage in 78:12 is a reiteration of the story in b. Git. 68a-b concerning Solomon's quest for the shamir which I shall come to in the next section. Three points emerge from this passage. The first is the use of the Deuteronomy passage (27:5) which holds the key to our understanding of 1 Kgs 6:7. The overt use of the Deuteronomy text appears for the first time in the rabbis' discussion of the shamir in connection with the Temple motif. The second is the link between Solomon and the shamir. Additionally, tradition has it that the shamir was fetched from the Garden of Eden by an eagle, although some denied this. The role of the shamir is clearly identified as being used by Solomon to cut stones for the Temple. The third point is the allusion to 1 Kgs 5:13 (MT); the rabbis seem to have understood the text to mean that Solomon "spoke *to* the beasts and birds."

Solomon and the Demons I

I have so far attempted to show the many facets of the shamir and how it came to be associated with the Temple building based on exegetical traditions

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[21] Ibid.,161.

of the rabbis. I now intend to demonstrate how the shamir is connected with other motifs. It appears in the remarkable story in b. Git. 68a-68b.[22] Here we find other motifs such as the delights of the sons of men, Solomon's power over demons; Ashmedai and Solomon, the ring and chain of Solomon; and the dethronement and re-enthronement of Solomon. The shamir appears to be central in this narrative. I shall reproduce only portions of the passage that are pertinent to my discussion:

> *. . . I gat me sharim and sharoth, and the delights of the sons of men, Shidah and shidoth. 'Sharim and Sharoth',, means diverse kinds of music; 'the delights of the sons of men'*are ornamental pools and baths. 'Shidah and shidoth': Here [in Babylon] they translate as male and female demons. In the West [Palestine] they say [it means] carriages. R. Johanan said: there were three hundred kinds of demons in Shihin, but what a shidah is I do not know. The master said: Here they translate 'male and female demons.' For what did Solomon want them?- As indicated in the verse, *And the house when it was in building was made of stone made ready at the quarry, [there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building*]; He said to the Rabbis, How shall I manage [without iron tools]?- they replied, there is a shamir which Moses brought for the stones of the ephod. He asked them, Where is it to be found? ---They replied, Bring a male and a female demon and tie them together; perhaps they know and will tell you. So he brought a male and female demon and tied them together. They said to him, We do not know, but perhaps Ashmedai the prince of the demons knows. He said to them, Where is he?----They answered, He is in such -and- such a mountain. . . . . He (Solomon) replied what I want to is to build the Temple and I require the shamir. He (Ashmedai) said; it is not in my hands, . . . what does the bird do with it? ------He takes it to a mountain where there is no cultivation and puts it on the edge of the rock which thereupon splits, and he then takes seed from the trees and brings them and throws them in the opening and things grow there. So they found not a woodpecker's nest with the young in it, and covered it with glass. . . . so it went and brought the shamir and placed it upon the glass. Benaiahu thereupon gave a shout, and it dropped [the shamir] and he took it,

The aforementioned Talmudic passage provides the backdrop to Solomon's quest for the shamir. The passage tells us that the shamir was used both by

[22] All quotations from the BT will be coming from I. Epstein's Hebrew- English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud.

Moses for writing on the stones of the ephod and by Solomon for building the Temple. As the rest of the passage unfolds the third question of where and how to obtain the shamir will be revealed. The mention of Solomon speaking to the rabbis is anachronistic since King Solomon is made a contemporary of the rabbis but perhaps the assumption is that there were also rabbis in his day. The rabbis may appear to have two OT texts in mind here. The first is the curious use of the Qoheleth passage (2:8) that is attributed to Solomon. The rabbis' attempt to explain what the delights of men were is the motif that actually starts the narrative. It is this passage that introduces the demon motif. The second is the popular biblical text from 1 Kgs 6:7.

How did demons in the first place come to be connected with Solomon? Could it be that there was an existing tradition about Solomon employing demons to build the Temple and the rabbis are here providing a justification by turning to the Scriptures? Does the demon motif arise out of the rabbis' quest to understand the Qoheleth passage below? The passage deserves a closer look:

כנסתי לי גם־כסף וזהב וסגלת
מלכים והמדינות עשׂיתי לי שרים ושרות
ותענוגת בני האדם שדה ושדות׃

> I also gathered for myself silver and gold and the treasure of kings and provinces; I got singers, both men and women, and many concubines, man's delight. (Qoh 2. 8; RSV)

The focus of the passage above is "the delights (תענוגת) of the sons of men" (literally, sons of Adam); they are שדה ושדות. What the latter Hebrew phrase means is another point of debate. The rabbis have understood the "delights of men" (תענוגת בני האדם) to mean different types of luxuries such as "diverse

kinds of music;" "ornamental pools and baths;" "public baths and lavatories" including "very many women;" and the latter is further interpreted to mean demonesses who will heat the baths; "male and female demons," and "carriages" (see b. Git. 68a; Midr. Qoh. 2.8; Midr. Num.11.3).

The Hebrew expression, שדה ושדות, is a hapax legomenon both etymologically and syntactically. This is an expression that still poses problems for scholars. Does the expression denote heniadys in order to express totality? The syntactical arrangement of a singular noun plus a conjunction with the plural of the same noun bears no exact resemblance to any other expression in the Hebrew Bible.[23] But what the Hebrew Bible attests to are two similar types. The first is the arrangement of a singular noun plus a plural noun with no conjunction to denote plurality. Examples of this type of arrangement could be found in Ps 72:5, 102:25 (= v. 24 Evv) and Isa 51:8 where dôr dôrîm is translated "all generations;" the phrase literally means generation [and] generations. The second type is where we have a singular noun plus conjunction plus another singular noun. An example of this can be found in 1Chr 28:14: a'bôdâh wa'abôdâ "every kind of service" (NASB, KJV), each service" (RSV).[24] This arrangement seems to denote variety.

The Vulgate has translated the Hebrew phrase as "cups (goblets) and water pots (scyphos et urceos);" the LXX^{BS} (the codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus), the Syriac and Peshita have "male cup bearer and female cup bearers" as a result of the pointing of the vowels resulting in šõdeh wešõdôth. The AV has

[23] Seow, Ecclesiastes, 31.

musical instruments; while the RV has "concubine and concubines." The latter is an attempt to connect the root šd with the root šdd (women taken by violence in a war or seized).[25]James L. Crenshaw has hinted at an erotic interpretation.[26] The translation of "covered wagon", "chest", "box" or "cupboard" could be a reflection of a similar word in passages of m. Šabb. 16:5 (שידה תיבה ומגדל) and m. Kelim 18:3 (השדה והתיבה והמגדל).

While the phrase שדה ושדות translated as "female and male demons" is perceived in the BT as the delights of men (תענוגת בני האדם), the Palestinian rabbis have understood it to mean "carriages." Targum Qohelet appears to have understood the phrase to mean "public baths and bath houses which pour out tepid water and spouts which pour out hot water"(Tg. Qoh. 2:5). This interpretation is based on the Aramaic root שד which means to 'pour out.' Already we are beginning to see how the rabbis have exploited peculiar words and difficult phrases in this biblical passage. The word שֵׁד, however, is also used for demons in the OT. The two appearances in Deut 32:17 and Ps 106:37 (= LXX Ps 105:37) are in plural and both references the שֵׁדִים are recipient of forbidden sacrifices. LXX translates both as δαιμονίοις. [27]

Another factor to consider is the tradition that suggests Adam and Eve had sexual relations with demons, a union which resulted in the birth of demonic

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[24] Ibid., 31-32.
[25] Cf. Judg 5:30
[26] James L. Crenshaw, Ecclesiastes: A Commentary (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1988), 80-81.
[27] See G. J. Riley, "Demon," DDD 235-40.

offspring.[28] Incidentally, this is an allusion to a prediluvian corruption by demonic agencies. Since the expression בני האדם stands in proximity to the phrase שדה ושדות the former expression could have either been interpreted or used to justify the notion that the "sons of Adam"/ "progeny of Adam" were demons.[29] If בני האדם is interpreted as demons then the delights of the demons could very well be interpreted as "busty women" on the assumption that שדה ושדות is connected with שד (breast). The parallel between women and demons may have coloured the rabbis' interpretation of Qoh 2:8. In b. Yoma 75a a parallel is intimated between a woman's breasts and a demon; furthermore, we read about the lascivious female demon in b. Erub. 100b, b. Nid. 24b and b. Šabb. 151b. The foregoing discussion has illustrated the inherent difficulty in understanding the Qoheleth verse. Despite all the attempts, none of the proposed translations and etymological suggestions is certain.

The theme concerning Solomon and demons may not have its origin in this text since tradition that predates the Talmud already connects Solomon with demons. What is striking is that nowhere else has this Qoheleth passage been employed in the manner the rabbis did. It may seem that the primary motivation is exegetical, viz., the desire of the exegete to understand the phrase in Qoh 2:8; the rabbis, however, might have exploited the inherent

[28] Midr. Gen. 20:11; 26:6; b. Erub. 18b.
[29] Cf. Pesiq. Rab Kah. 5:3.

ambiguity in the text[30] in order to legitimise an already popular tradition linking Solomon with demons.

Apart from the crucial role played by Ashmedai and the two demons who were bound (see b. Git. 68a-b) during Solomon's attempt to secure the shamir, Solomon also employed demons to perform various tasks on his behalf as evident in the Targums and the Midrashim. Two motifs in addition to those connected with the Temple building are Solomon's Garden and the delights of men motifs. These have their basis on the interpretations of Qoh 2:5-8. Firstly, in Midrash Qoheleth[31] R. Abba b. Hahana comments:

> "I made me gardens and parks" (Qoh 2:5), this is to be understood literally. "And I planted in them all kinds of fruits: even pepper. R. Abba b. Kahana said: Solomon made use of the spirits and sent them to India from where they brought him water with which to water [the pepper plant] here [in the land of Israel] and it produced fruit. (Eccl. Rab. 2.5)[32]

Further, it is said that the demons heated kept the public baths (the delights of the son of men) in Ecclesiastes Rabbah:

> . . . I got men singers and women singers: the words mean male and female singers. And the delights of the sons of men i.e. Public baths and lavatories. Women very many i.e. numerous demonesses to heat them. (Eccl. Rab. 2.8)[33]

While the delights of men in EcclR are the "public baths and lavatories;" for the Targumist, they are the "public baths and bath houses." Ecclesiastes Rabbah and the Targumist have used the word דימוסיות to mean "public baths." The BT (b. Git. 68a) interprets the "delights of men" to mean "pools

[30] Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel, 285-86.
[31] Parallels with the BT are said to be later additions. See Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 317-18; and Peter S. Knobel, The Targum of Qohelet (ArBib 15; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 15.
[32] Cf. Tg. Qoh. 2.5
[33] Cf. Num. Rab. 11.3

and baths" (בריכות ומרחצאות). What is significant though is Ecclesiastes Rabbah's interpretation of "women very many" (שדה, ושדות) as being numerous demonesses.

As I have intimated two biblical texts have been merged in b. Git 68a. The first is the text regarding iron tools and the second is the Qoheleth passage suggesting that Solomon had demons at his disposal. The function of the demons was to assist Solomon in his search for the elusive shamir. The Talmudic narrative continues below by introducing Ashmedai. This may be an attempt to answer the question, how and where is the shamir obtained?

> So he brought a male and female demon and tied them together. They said to him, We do not know, but perhaps Ashmedai the prince of the demons knows. He said to them, where is he? They answered, he is in such-and-such a mountain. He has dug a pit there, which he fills with water and covers with a stone, which he then seals with his seal. Every day he goes up to heaven and studies in the Academy of the sky and then he comes down to earth and studies in the Academy of the earth, and then he goes and examines his seal and opens [the pit] and drinks and then closes it and seals it again and goes away.

Although the rabbis were a repository of knowledge they still did not know the location of the shamir. In Solomon's quest he required the expertise of the demons. Although they could not help they divulge valuable information about Ashmedai, the prince of the demons, who would assist Solomon in securing the shamir. The information revealed to Solomon about Ashmedai by the demons introduces the Ashmedai motif. This motif could have very well travelled from an already existing tradition which originally has nothing to do with the shamir but was utilised and developed in the BT.

The Ashmedai-Solomon Episode

The narrative in b. Git. 68a -68b revolves around two main protagonists: Ashmedai and Solomon. Within the section of the Solomon-Ashmedai episode we have smaller narrative sections connected together. These stories in turn appear to be connected to the Solomon-Ashmedai motif whose presence in the story is justified by the quest for the mysterious shamir.

The Capture of Ashmedai

> Solomon thereupon sent thither Benaiahu son of Jehoida, giving him a chain on which was graven the [Divine] Name and a ring on which was graven the Name and fleeces of wool, and then dug a pit higher up and poured the wine into it and then filled it up the pits. He then went and sat on a tree. When Ashmedai came he examined the seal, then opened the pit and found it full of wine. He said it is written (. . . Prov 20:1) I will not drink it. Growing thirsty, however, he could not resist, and he drank till he became drunk, and he fell asleep. Benaiahu then came down and threw the chain over him and fastened it. When he awoke he began to struggle, whereupon he [Benaiahu] said, The name of thy Master is upon thee, the Name of thy Master is upon thee.

The above section informs us of Benaiahu's[34] role in capturing Ashmedai. He was the king's intermediary; armed with Solomon's chain, ring, the fleeces of wool and bottles of wine he was able to craftily trick the prince of the demons. The function of the ring is not specified in this section. But later on in the story the use of the ring will be made apparent. Benaiahu dug a pit lower down the hill and let the water flow from it and then stopped the hollow with the fleeces of wool. Another pit was dug higher up and filled with wine. After Ashmedai was cornered into drinking wine which made him drunk, Benaiahu was then able to capture the demon with the use of Solomon's chain and ring. The chain was used to bind Ashmedai and when he awoke he noticed that he was

[34] [בניה] or Benaiahu [בניהו] one of David warriors and Solomon's commander in chief according to the biblical story (2 Sam 23:20-23; 1 Chr 11: 22-25; 1 Kgs 1:8-44). The name means YHWH builds.

bound; Benaiahu then responded by stating, "the name of thy master is upon thee, the name of thy master is upon thee."

Benaiahu and Ashmedai

Within the larger narrative there is a short but intriguing pericope about Benaiahu and Ashmedai. The story relates what transpired during Ashmedai's journey with Benaiahu to Solomon, and their journey together to fetch the shamir. On their way to see Solomon after Ashmedai's capture, he exhibited somewhat uncharacteristic behaviour on five separate occasions to individuals he encountered. The power of the prince of demons was manifested when he felled a palm tree and knocked down a house. On their way back to Solomon after obtaining the shamir curious Benaiahu asked Ashmedai to explain his bizarre behaviour which he went on to explain.

Ashmedai's revelations to Benaiahu regarding his bizarre behaviour illustrate that the king of the demons did not only have an insight into the future of which Benaiahu did not have the slightest clue; but he also had the knowledge of things happening elsewhere, a form of esoteric knowledge. This is also demonstrated in Ashmedai's knowledge of the location of the shamir in the mountains. Ashmedai's role in revealing secrets to Solomon about the location of the shamir may explain why Ashmedai was included in the narrative. What the narrative does not tell us is how in the first place Ashmedai came to be associated with esoteric knowledge. In Zohar we read

about a similar motif where King Ashmedai gave King Solomon a book of magic from which Solomon would learn secrets.[35]

Benaiahu did secure the shamir on behalf of King Solomon. How did he do this? With the knowledge from Ashmedai about the Prince of the Sea who entrusts the shamir to the woodpecker, both Ashmedai and Benaiahu went in search of the woodpecker's nest and found one with its young in it. They overlaid the nest with white glass in order to prevent the woodpecker from entering in. When the woodpecker came and could not get into the nest because it was covered with glass it went away and brought the shamir in order to break the glass. Benaiahu who was watching from a distance seeing this shouted and the bird dropped the shamir which he took.

Unlike b. Git.68a, the Midrash Psalms (78:11) passage which I referred to earlier informs us that the shamir was brought to Solomon by the eagle from the Garden of Eden. This passage also suggests that some thought the shamir was brought to Solomon by the hoopoe.[36] We read that Solomon "spoke to" beasts and birds" contrary to the English translations of the MT text which states he "spoke about/of beasts and birds."

> And he (Solomon) spoke of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springs out of the wall, he spoke also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.

The particle על is interpreted in conjunction with the verb דבר to mean "speaking to" as oppose to "speaking about/of" something/someone. Two

[35] The Zohar 3.128a (Terumah; Exod 25-27:19). For the English translation see, The Zohar (trans. Maurice Simon and Paul P. Levertoff; 5 vols.; London and Bournemouth: Soncino Press, 1949).

points are worth noting here. Firstly, the shamir was fetched by a bird (an eagle or a hoopoe) from the Garden of Eden, and secondly, Solomon spoke to beasts and birds enquiring about the shamir. In a nutshell, the passage informs us about the role of the shamir and how Solomon obtained it. We must remember here that the Midrash Psalms retells the same story about the shamir as found in b. Git 68a-b in Midr. Ps. 78: 12 with few minor differences. Irrespective of the way the shamir motif was developed in the narratives it is unquestionably linked to the prohibition of iron tools in the Torah.

The rabbinic literature intimates that the shamir was a creature that has the potential to split rocks. As to its function varying opinions have emerged. On the one hand, there are those who taught that it was used for the ephod and the breastplate in the Temple; on the other hand, it was taught that Solomon used it for the stones in the Temple building construction since iron tools were prohibited. This latter view is unambiguously expressed in Midr. Ps. 78:11. Moreover, in the BT although Solomon needed it to build the Temple we read nothing of it being actually used in the Temple construction. In fact what we find in b. Git. 68a-b is the striking silence of its function once it was secured.

The Luminescent Precious Stone(s) in Rabbinic Literature

Earlier in my discussion of LAB I mentioned about the magical properties of certain stones and attempt to draw parallels with the green stone in the TSol. A similar motif in the rabbinic literature might have been introduced to explain the Hebrew word, צֹהַר in the Midrashim. What is significant here for my

[36] The guardian bird of the shamir is תרנגולא ברא (the wild cock) in the Talmud which is

discussion is the function of these stones. The motif of precious stones that supernaturally provided enough light to make natural or artificial light unnecessary is found in various rabbinic texts. In one of these passages we may have an allusion to the shoham stone (אבן השהם) in Gen 2:11-12:

> b. Sanh. 108b
> A window shalt thou make to the ark. R. Joannan said: The Holy One, the blessed be He, instructed Noah, "Set therein precious stones and jewels, so that they may give thee light, bright as the noon."
>
> Gen. Rab. 31:11
> A light (צֹהַר) shalt thou make to the ark (Gen 6.16). R. Huna and R. Phineas, R. Hanan and R. Hoshaia could not explain it. R. Abba b. Kahana said: It means a skylight; R. Levi said: A precious stone. R. Phineas said in R. Levi's name: During the whole twelve months that Noah was in the ark he did not require the light of the sun by day or the light of the moon by night, but he had a polished gem which he hung up, when it was dim he knew that it was day, and when it shone he knew that it was night.

In the above passages the meaning of צֹהַר appears to be unclear since it was understood differently by various rabbis. R. Kahana interprets it to be a skylight or window, while R. Levi interprets it to mean a precious stone in Genesis Rabbah. R. Joannan's comment in b. Sanh. 108b informs us that it was precious stones and jewels that emitted light in the ark. Once more we encounter another problematic text because of a difficult word.

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identified with the biblical דוכיפת (Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18).

Pirqe R. El. 23[37]

Rabbi Meir said: one pearl was suspended in the ark, and shed light upon all creatures in the ark, like a lamp which give light inside the house, and like the sun yonder which shines in his might, as it is said, "A light shalt thou make to the ark."

Tg. Ps. –J. Gen 6:16[38]

. . . . Go to Pishon and from there take a gem, and put it in the ark to give you light. You shall complete it to a cubit from the top. Put the door of the ark in its side. With lower, second, and third compartments you shall make it.

In the aforementioned texts a "gem" or a "precious stone" are highlighted as being used to provide light in the ark. However, there is no parallel in rabbinic texts where it is stated that the gem should be taken from Pishon except for the Targum passage. Pishon is the river that passes through the land of Havila, a place most often associated with the Garden of Eden where the shoham stone is located (cf. Gen 2:10-12). The allusion here may be to one of the two stones mention in the Genesis passage. Below we have a passage that attests to the magical properties of the "kadkudaya" stones;

[37] G. Friedlander, Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer (4th ed; New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981).This is a Palestinian Midrashic work of the eighth century. See Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 328-330.
[38] M. Maher, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis (ArBib 1B; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992).

> And the turrets upon thy walls I shall make of Kadkod (כַּדְכֹד)[39] (Isa 54:12). According to R. Abba bar Kahana, kadkod means "this and that"; [thus Isaiah indicates that the stones of which the turrets are to be made will be alternately stibium and sapphire]. According to R. Levi. [in Arabia the term for] bright red is kadkadyenon (כדכדיינון), R. Joshua ben Levi taught that the stones will be bright red kadkudaya (כדכודא) stones [which give off light in the dark]. (Pesiq. Rab Kah. 18.5)

Further on, in Pesiq. Rab Kah. 18.5, Elijah to R. Joshua ben Levi informs us about another characteristic of precious stones in rabbinic literature.

> When a mighty tempest of the sea fell upon the ship, Elijah appeared to the lad and said to him: "Go on an errand for to R. Joshua ben Levi--show him the kadkudaya stones [that you will pick up from the sea botttom], and I will save this vessel for your sake." The lad replied: "R. Joshua ben Levi, who is the greatest man of this generation, may not believe me." Elijah replied: "He will believe you, for he is a humble man. But when you show the stones to him, do not show them to him in the presence of any other person. Take him to a cave three miles distance from Lydda and there show them to him." Thereupon, by a miracle, the lad got away safely from the ship. He then went to R. Joshua ben Levi, and finding him in the teacher's chair in the great academy of Lydda, said: . . . . When they got to the cave, the lad said: "Sir, these are kadkudaya stones." As R. Joshua beheld them, their brightness shone forth so strongly that he was startled and let them fall to the ground where they disappeared.

In addition to the PRK text above, rabbinic materials do attest to other magical properties of precious stones. Similarly, in b. B. Bat. 16b, for example, we read of the therapeutic properties of a precious stone worn around the neck. This stone brought immediate healing to any sick person who looked upon it.[40] Could there be a connection between the shamir and shoham? Although such a link is difficult to establish in rabbinic literature it is intriguing to note that the shamir was fetched by an eagle from the Garden of Eden in Midrash Psalms (78.11), the subsequent section (78.12) attests to the wild cock.

[39] This is identified as "onyx" in b. B. Bat 75a.
[40] See my discussion on LAB in chapter 6.

Solomon and the Demons II

Solomon and Ashmedai: Dethronement-Re-Enthronement

In another section of b. Git 68b we are informed that the downfall of Solomon was caused by Ashmedai:

> Solomon kept him until he had built the Temple. One day when he was alone with him, he said, It is written, "He hath as it were to'afoth (תועפות) and re'em (ראם), and we explain that to'afoth (תועפות) means the ministering angels and re'em (רְאֵם)[41] means the demons." What is your superiority over us. He said to him, Take the chain off me and give me your ring, and I will show you. So he took the chain off him and gave him the ring. He then swallowed him [it] and placing one wing on the earth and one on the sky he hurled him four hundred parasangs. In reference to that incident Solomon said, *What profit is there a man in all his labour wherein he laboureth under the sun.*[42]. . . . *I Koheleth was a King over Israel in Jerusalem.*[43] When he came to the Sanhedrin, the Rabbis said: Let us see, a mad man does not stick to one thing only. What is the meaning of this? They asked Benaiahu, Does the King send you? He replied, No.

It should be noted here that the dethronement motif in this narrative is linked with Ashmedai's craftiness. Solomon had his way for a moment but Ashmedai's challenge proved to be fateful. He was able to dupe the king into taking off the chain that bound him and giving him the ring which Ashmedai swallowed. It seems that swallowing the ring prevented Solomon from using this device further against Ashmedai. After this, a dramatic event ensued which led to the king's downfall. The king supposedly lost his throne and became a lunatic and a beggar.[44]

Whether or not Solomon regained his throne remains a debate amongst the rabbis. The text below discusses re-enthronement motif where Solomon was reinstated as king:

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[41] Cf. Num 24:8.
[42] Qoh 1:3.

> They (rabbis) then sent for Solomon and gave him the chain and the ring on which the name was engraved. When he went in, Ashmedai on catching sight of him flew away, but he remained in fear of him, therefore is it written, *Behold it is the litter of Solomon, threescore mighty men are about it of the mighty men of Israel. They all handle the sword and are expert in war, every man hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.*[45] One said that Solomon was first a king and then a commoner, and the other that he was a king and then a commoner and then a king again. (b. Git 68b)

In the BT it is clear that Ashmedai deposed Solomon and someone sat on his throne, possibly Ashmedai; other rabbinic materials unambiguously identify the one who sat on his throne. The PT, for example, intimates that it was an angel who sat on Solomon's throne.[46]

An understanding of Qoh 1:12 seems to be pivotal in the rabbinic discussion whether Solomon was a first a king then a commoner or whether he was a king then a commoner and then a king again. This text is alluded to in b. Git. 68b, Midr. Ps. 78:12, *y.* Sanh. 2.6, and Ruth Rabbah 5.6 The verb הָיִיתִי in Qoh 1:12 appears to be taken by some to mean an event in the past hence the translation "I was" (as in KJV, ASV and NIV); it is also interpreted as an aorist in the LXX (cf. Vulgate and Targum). The rabbinic tradition has not only apply the text to Solomon but has also interpreted the verb in the past to mean that there was a time that Solomon was no longer a king having been deposed due to his sins. From a grammatical point of view the Hebrew could also be understood as present perfect, meaning that Solomon was still a king.[47] Ashmedai does not appear to be a malevolent character when

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[43] Qoh 1:12.
[44] A parallel story is found in Midr. Ps. 78.12, Ruth Rabbah 5.6 and Targum Qoh. 1:12.
[45] Cant 3: 7, 8.
[46] Y.Sanh 2.6; see also Ruth Rabbah 5.6. The Midrashim, attest to a similar motif of an angel in the guise of Solomon sitting on Solomon's throne: Eccl. Rab. 2.2, 3, PRK 26:2.
[47] Seow, Ecclesiastes, 119.

compared to the depiction of Asmodeus in Tobit.[48] Two primary functions he served are the revelation of secrets to Solomon in securing the shamir, and secondly, he was instrumental in teaching King Solomon a lesson— a didactic tool or chastiser.

The Building of the Temple

Other traditions regarding the building of the Temple can be found in Pesiqta Rabbati.[49] I have chosen to quote only sections of Piska 6 relevant to my discussion. The narrative in Piska 6 attempts to unravel and provide an exposition of 1 Kgs 7:51[50] although the Piska alludes to other biblical texts in 1 Kgs (6:7, 8:13). It focuses on the building of the Temple which was esteemed highly by the rabbis. It was Solomon's zeal to accomplish this awesome task that saved him from the prospect of losing a portion in the world to come. There were a number of supernatural events that took place during Temple construction. The shamir motif in the BT is missing here. The narrative begins by alluding to the story of the creation of men and demons and then goes on to discuss the building of Solomon's Temple:

> . . . the expression wtšlm (ותשלם) is taken to mean [not was finished, but] "proceeded in peace" (šlwm [שלום]). While the workmen were building it not one of them died, not one of them took sick. No trowel nor axe was broken, not an eye felt pain, not even a shoe thong was cut. Not a stool used in the work of the building was broken, not a single one was worn out or even dented. Hence it is said, 'Thus all the work proceeded in peace." (Piska 6.7)

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[48] See my earlier discussion of Tobit and the TSol.

[49] There is a narrative in PesR that closely resembles the story in b. Git. 68a-b.

[50] 1 Kgs 7:51(Evv); the first part of the MT text reads as follows:
ותשלם כל־המלאכת אשר עשה המלך שלמה בית יהוה cf. 9:25 (Evv). The word שלם which is translated "to complete or finish" could also denote "to be sound' or 'uninjured" meaning that things went on well. This meaning may be implied here when the rabbis stated that things went on in peace.

The rabbis went on to illuminate the biblical text (1 Kgs 7:51) that the work proceeded in peace. Much exegetical attention is given to explaining the expression ותשלם. There is focus on the play of the word "šlm." Later in the same Piska we read of the most intriguing incident:

> "Thus . . . all the work was finished (wtšlm) --- when the workmen finished the work, their life was finished. Truly? But a moment ago you taught that not one of them took sick, not one of them had a pain in his eyes, and now you say that when they finished their work, they died! It was the decree of the Holy One, blessed be He, however, that the nations of the earth should not draft the workmen and build buildings with their help and say, "These are the same men who together with Solomon built God's own structure." (Piska 6.7)

This passage further elucidates the word "šlm" by presenting what became of those who participated in the Temple building. Strangely, all the workmen who were described as healthy during the period of the construction died when the work was completed. Another passage below presents two interpretations of 1 Kgs 6:7. The first is the notion that the stones were flying and mounted in their proper place. The second view is that the demons and spirits were willing to assist Solomon in his prestigious project. Solomon certainly built the Temple but with the help of both man and spirits.

> "Thus the entire work . . . finished itself." What is meant by the expression 'the entire work,' etc.? That [each stone] came flying and mounted [to its proper place] so that the building got built of itself. The text does not say "And the house, when it was being built," but says "for the house as it built itself" (1 Kgs 6:7);[51] and goes on to say, "was built of stones made ready [and] brought thither (ibid.)." What is implied by expressions such as 'was built,' and 'brought thither?' R. Berechiah said: Every stone brought itself, lifted itself and built itself into the building. Indeed in his songs when Solomon exclaimed "I have built thee a builded house of habitation" (1 Kgs 8:13 MT), he resorted to the unusual expression "I have built thee a builded [house],' to say thereby: As I was building the building, the stones came flying and mounted up of their own accord. And if you were astonished [at this, then take note that] the Holy One, blessed be He, made the same thing happen for a certain righteousness man: "And a stone brought itself, and laid itself

[51] Cf. Exod. Rab. 52.4.

> upon the mouth of the den" (Dan 6:18 [17 Evv]). Now how did they get the stone in Babylon unless, as our Masters explained, it rolled from the land of Israel and arrived for a particular moment's use? And if the Lord did thus for flesh-and-blood why should you be astonished that such a thing was done for the building of the house of the Holy One, blessed be He? Another comment: "For the House when it was in building" (1 Kgs 6:7) means as R. Huna said in the name of R. Joseph, [that the House of God which Solomon built seemed to build itself for] anything, even spirits, even demons, are willing to assist the King [of Kings]. (Piska 6.7)

In this section three biblical texts have been employed by the rabbis: 1 Kgs 6:7; 1 Kgs 8:13 and Dan 6:18 (=17 Evv). Two motifs worth noting that have emerged as a result of the rabbis' discussion are the flying stones motif indicating that the stones by their own accord placed themselves in the Temple, and the second, the demon and spirits motif. The latter suggests that demons and spirits assisted Solomon in the building project. It is difficult to ascertain how these motifs came to be connected. What we have here is two different traditions juxtaposed side by side. It is not impossible that different versions of the same story circulated in various circles. Importantly, the rabbis have based their interpretations on biblical texts. It would be interesting to explore the exegetical motivation that lies behind each of these texts. One thing that is certain is that the motifs are there to explain certain biblical texts. A similar discussion to the passage above could be found in R. Huna and Berechia's discussion in Canticles Rabbah.[52] In Cant. Rab I.1, 5 we are informed that Solomon was diligent in building the Temple because he took only seven years which is less than the time he took to build his own house. Moreover, similar theme about spirits and demons assisting Solomon in the building construction below emerges in this Midrash:

[52] See Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, 315-16.

> Huna said in the name of R. Joseph: "All assist the King, all the more then do assist for the glory of the king of kings, the Holy one, blessed be He, even spirits, even demons, even ministering angels!". . . I have built that which was already built R. Berekiah said: It is not written, the house which they were building, but indicating that it was built of itself, as it says further, 'It was built of stone made ready at the quarry.' It does not say simply 'built' but 'it was built,' showing that the stones carried themselves on the row.

Although there is no mention of the Pentateuchal prohibition on the use of iron tools in the above passages, it must have been in the mind of the rabbis. Moreover, the use of 1 Kgs 6.7 in our discussion is centred on the verb "to build" (בהבנתו).[53] The form of the verb in 6:7 seemed to have been understood in the reflexive sense by the rabbis to mean the Temple literally built itself. It is interesting to note the way Josephus describes the great skill in which the whole construction of the Temple was carried out in Ant. 8.69. He states that stones were laid together so neatly, and then concludes, "all the material seemed to have fitted itself together naturally without the use of these things, so their fitting together seemed to have come about of itself rather than through the force of tools."

Josephus has also reinterpreted the same text that the rabbis have wrestled with. As I have noted this text is a product of an inner biblical exegesis and it should come to us as no surprise that the rabbis who had invested their time and energy to the Scriptures did find this a force with which to reckon. Unlike

[53] See GKC, 137, 154. The verb here is not only in the niphal but also has the pronominal suffix at the end; and the niphal can both be understood reflexively or as a passive. Could the usage here be construed as a Niphal tolerativum to express actions which the subject allows to have an effect on himself? See A. B. Davidson, An Introductory Hebrew Grammar (26th ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1966), 103; But Bruce Waltke and M. O' Connor have suggested that this form of niphal where the subject is both the agent and the patient of the verbal action is a causative-reflexive type that is usually express in the form of a Hithpael. See, Waltke and O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbraun, 1990), 388-89.

the rabbis, Josephus does not explain the building construction as described in 1 Kgs 6.7 as a supernatural event. He stated that the work "seemed to have come about by itself," the keyword in Josephus' account is the word "seemed." The second text, 1 Kgs 8:13, is linked with 1 Kgs 6:7 in order to explain the notion that the stones came flying into their position.

In our third text (Dan 6:17) the principle of qal wa homer (a minori ad maius)[54] is utilised. The supernatural event during the Temple construction shown in our passage is justified by the use of the text in Daniel to suggest a miracle. The rabbis' logic is as follows: if in a similar but less significant situation a stone brought itself to the mouth of Daniel's den how much more can the Holy One do for a more significant event as the building of his Temple. The Daniel passage depicts an incident of a lighter matter, and this is used to draw an inference for a weightier matter; viz., the flying stones in the building of the Temple. Since God performed a miracle before it is not impossible for him do it again even in a different circumstance. We are told that demons and spirits were willing to assist but not how. Did they actually participate in the actual construction? What was their role then? If they did participate in the actual building project then this could have been the first overt reference we have in a rabbinic passage that demons and spirits participated in the actual construction process. The notion that is expressed in Pesiqta Rabbati and Canticles Rabbah regarding the roles of the demons is lacking in the BT.

[54] The exegetical principle means from the lighter or less significant to a weightier or more significant.

The Terror of the Night [55]

In Piska 5.3 of PRK we find the rabbis' discussing Solomon's reign over demons. Phineas bar Abun spoke in the name of R. Hanin of the consequence of Solomon's sin:

> Before Solomon sinned, he fearlessly ruled over male and female demons, saying, "I got me . . . Adam's progeny demons and she demons." For what was the purpose in getting the demons and she demons sprung from Adam if not to rule over them? But after he sinned, such was his dread for them and he summoned threescore mighty men for the guarding of his litter: Behold, it is the litter of Solomon; threescore mighty men are about it . . . they all handle the sword and are expert in war because of the dread [fear] in the night.

Solomon who once subjugated the demons lost his power over them after he sinned. In fact he feared them. The passage above uses two biblical texts which seem to have gained some currency in rabbinic circles regarding King Solomon. Both the OT texts are taken from Qoheleth and Canticles respectively. A similar passage can also be found in Canticles Rabbah which is based on a commentary of Cant 3:8 and Numbers Rabbah 11.3, a rather late Midrash. The first underlined phrase is the rabbis' interpretation of an uncertain Hebrew phrase שדה ושדות בני האדם in Qoh 2:8 has already been discussed. The second underlined phrase מפחד בלילות "against the terror of the night" (night terror) is a hapax legomenon from Ps 91:5-6 (MT= LXX 90:5-6). The word פחד also occurs in Cant 3:8 where it appears to be referring to a certain type of demon. The LXX has "and a noon -day demon" (καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ) probably reading the Hebrew ושד צָהֳרָיִם(a noon-day demon) for יָשׁוּד צָהֳרָיִם ("...that wastes at noon day").

Although specific dangers are not mentioned in the Hebrew text, the rabbis

[55] See P. W. van Der Horst, "Terror of the Night," DDD, 851-56.

Chron 29:2 where the LXX seems to have translated אבני־ שֹׁהַם as λίθος σοαμ.

TSol 10: 4-10 (MSS HLP) discusses Solomon's quest for the green stone (the λίθος πράσινον) which would later be instrumental in the construction of the Temple. In the translation below I have replaced Duling "emerald" with "green stone" because I feel the latter accurately translates the Greek. The narrative can be divided into two smaller sections: vv. 4-8 deals with the search of the green stone; and vv. 9-11 informs us about what happened when the stone was found. The first section reads thus:

> (4). . . . I said to him, "What is your name?" He replied "Sceptre (῾Ράβδος)."[59] (5) Then I said to him, "What is your activity and why do you seem to me so prosperous?" The demon said, "Turn over your manservant to me and I shall spirit him off to a place in the mountains where I shall show him the green stone shaken loose from its foundation. With it, you will adorn the Temple of God." (6) When I heard these things I immediately ordered my household servant to accompany and take the ring bearing God's seal with him. I told him, "Go with him and wherever it is he shows you[60] the green stone, seal him with the ring, observe the place in detail, and bring the ring back to me."[61] (7) So when (the demon) went out and showed him the emerald stone, (the household servant) sealed him with the ring of God, and brought the green stone back to me. (8) I then decided to have the two demons, the headless one and the dog, bound, and (to request that) the stone be carried about day and night like, as it were, a light for the working artisans.

The story begins to unfold itself in the usual fashion where Solomon encounters a demon and then interrogates him about his identity, activity, and

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[59] The word carries several meaning including staff, rod; and sceptre, a symbol of office (LXX Ps 44 (45): 7. The LXX translates the Hebrew מַשֶּׁה to describe the rods of Aaron and Moses in Exodus (Exod 2:4, 17, 20; 7: 9; 8:13; 10:13; 14: 16; 17:5-9); and in Exod 7:9-12 to describe the rods/wands of the magicians. See C. Schneider, "ῥαβδος ῥαβδιζω ῥαβδοῦχος," TDNT 6: 966-71; LSJ 2:1562.

[60] I am inclined to follow Jackson here, "wherever it is he shows you" for οὗ δ'ἄν ἐπδείξει contra Duling's "whoever shows you" since the emphasis in the context appears to be the "location" of the green stone and not the "one who locates it."

[61] MS P and N have "bring the demon here to me."

seemed to identify the "night terror" with "demons." Genesis Rabbah 36.1 interprets פחד in Job 21:9 as evil spirits (mazzikim). This theme is reminiscent of the story in Tobit (Tob 6:14-15) where Asmodeus is depicted as the demon who comes in the night to murder the bride's husband to be. If we consider the context of the Qoheleth text (2:6-11) as identified by scholars[56] and the rabbis' knowledge of a tradition of the 'wedding demon' who attacks his victim in the wedding night one may begin to understand why the rabbis interpreted the phrase מפחד בלילות thus. In this case, the bridegroom is no other than King Solomon, himself. There is no reference to a bridal chamber in this Qoheleth passage. Another passage from Midrash Psalms (91) alludes to the "terror of the night" motif which is an exegetical exposition of Ps 91:5-6, a passage that I earlier mentioned. This psalm was often read over the stricken (possessed) or recited before going to sleep (b. Šebu. 15b).

The Green Stone in the TSol

Although the word "shamir" does not occur anywhere in the TSol the LXX translation of the shoham stone (אבן השהם) ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος in Gen 2:12[57] is the same expression used in the TSol for the "green stone" in TSol 10:4-10. The Greek expression ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος which appears in both the TSol and Genesis is a hapax legomenon.[58] The only passage where the Hebrew expression occurs in connection with the Temple construction is in 1

[56] It has been suggested that the context has to be the description of Solomon's marriage; Murphy, The Song of Songs, 151-52.

[57] (11) . . . . it is one that flows around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, (12) and the gold of that land is good; bdellium and onyx stone (אבן השהם)are there (NRSV).

[58] It is only in this verse that the Hebrew expression אבן השהם is translated by the LXX as ὁ λίθος ὁ πρασίνος. Curiously, in Ezek 28:13 where the same expression is found in a similar context to that of Genesis we find the LXX using a different word. It is noteworthy that this particular stone is connected with the Garden of Eden.

thwarting agent. This time, however, Solomon queried about the prosperity of the dog like demon Rabdos (literally means staff/rod). It is rather unusual for Solomon to ask about the prosperity of a demon. In the introductory verses of chapter 10 the demon appears to be powerful (vv. 1-3), and he identifies himself as Rabdos. His name is not only the cynosure of his character but what King Solomon might achieve if Rabdos was subjugated. It could be wealth or power. We will see this as the story progresses. The following can be inferred from the text: Solomon's manservant was spirited to the mountains by the demon in search of this precious stone. He was equipped with a ring but the ring was supposed to be returned to Solomon once the location of the stone was known and the demon sealed; however, in verse 7 one gets the impression that it is only the green stone that was returned to Solomon. In finding the location of the stone the demon was sealed with the ring, and the green stone was brought to Solomon. At this point, there was no mention of the ring. Two demons were subsequently bound. It is however intriguing that although the TSol and b. Git. 68a-b discuss two different subjects, both stories bear some resemblance to one another.

With respect to the questions of where and how the green stone is obtained there are aspects in the TSol story pertaining to the search for the green stone that parallel the rabbinic story of Solomon's quest for the shamir in b. Git. 68a-b. The parallel, however, is too general for one to argue for any literary dependence. In both cases there is indication that both the shamir and the green stone were found in the mountain. In both the TSol and rabbinic material an intermediary played a part. In the TSol it was Solomon's

manservant while in the rabbinic texts it was Benaiahu. Both were equipped with rings. Additionally, in both the rabbinic materials and the TSol demons played an integral part in revealing the location of the green stone and the shamir, and in both instances the demons were subsequently bound after the precious green stone and the shamir were secured. On both occasions two demons were also bound. In the rabbinic tradition the binding of two demons occur before the expedition for the shamir while in the TSol the binding of two demons happened after the green stone was secured. In both cases, however, the binding served two different purposes.

Another pertinent question worth answering has to do with the function of the green stone and how it parallels that of the shamir. In 10:5 we are informed that the green stone would be used for adorning the Temple of God. But once the stone was secured two demons were bound and made to carry the green stone day and night to provide light for the workmen (10:8). Earlier in my discussion on LAB I intimated about the power and mysterious nature of precious stones in LAB and characteristic of the green stone in the TSol. The aspect of providing light parallels that of the precious stones in particular the shoham stone in certain rabbinic passages I have already discussed.

MS P however has a different reading; this seems to indicate that two demons were bound in order to keep the fiery spirit as lamps:

> "to bind the two, the headless demon, likewise the dog that was so gigantic, and the dog to keep the fiery spirit as lamps lighting the way through their opening for the artisans night and day."[62]

[62]τοὺς δύο τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸν ἀκέφαλον, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν κύνα προσδέδεσθαι ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν κύνα τηρεῖν τὸν διάπυρον πνεῦμα ὡς λαμπάδας νυκτὸς καὶ

This text does not make much sense to the readers in its present context. The Greek is rather difficult; besides, there is no earlier mention of a fiery spirit. In verses 9-10 the connection is made between the green stone and the Temple construction. Here we are informed of the function and description of the stone:

> (9) Next I extracted from the moving stone 200 shekel for the supports of the altar, for the stone has the likeness of a horn.[63] (10) Then I, Solomon, when I had glorified the lord God, locked up the treasure chest containing the stone[64] and commanded the demons to cut marble for the construction of the Temple. Also, I asked the dog in private, by which angel are you thwarted?" He replied, "by the great Barthiaos." (bd-b)

Verse 9 is a difficult passage though: Duling has "Next I extracted from the moving stone 200 shekel for the supports of the altar,..."
(καὶ ἠρα ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λίθου διακοσίους σίκλους ἐν τοῖς ἀναφορεῦσι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) an alternative to this translation offered by Duling in his footnote is "I levied out of the crystals of that stone 200 shekels from among the bearers of the altars." Duling has read μετάλλου (MSP) for μετοικισμοῦ (Rec A) and has accepted McCown's suggestion of ἀναφέρουσιν' for ἀναφορεῦσι. Jackson, however, suggests that the latter is "suitable enough" since the word referring to the poles which the Israelites altars were transported in the LXX is ἀναφορεύς although this may appear anachronistic for Solomon's Temple.[65] Additionally, reading μετάλλου of MS P with Conybeare in place of μετοικισμοῦ suggests a mine which may explain how the 200 shekels were raised. I must say that this verse is fraught with

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ἡμέρας διὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ παραπίπτει τῶις ἐργ. τεχνίταις

[63] I have chosen MS N's recension A's κερασίου instead of McCown's conjecture of πράσου. The latter does not seem to make any sense here. In fact, κέρας does not only mean a horn or something but also could be a symbol of strength. See "κερας," LSJ 1: 941.

ambiguities and even Jackson could not improve on Duling's translation. The expression moving stone may indicate that the stone's location was changed from its former residence in the mountain to the site of the Temple. How the stone provided light for the Temple remains a mystery.

While the rabbinic materials on the one hand describes the shamir as a creature about the size of barleycorn; on the other hand, the TSol describes the green stone having the likeness of a horn. Furthermore, the green stone somehow seems to have provided the source of 200 shekels for Solomon. It has a commercial value that distinguishes it from the shamir in rabbinic texts whose purpose was to cut through hard substances. One may point out that the location of the green stone is reminiscent of the traditions in rabbinic literature which hold the view that the shamir was located in the mountain. Solomon's quest for the green stone parallels that of the shamir but in a very general way. The green stone providing light because of its possible luminescent characteristic is reminiscent not of the shamir but the shoham stone/ precious stones in rabbinic literature. However, the magical and therapeutic properties of precious stones as attested by both PRK and b. B. Bat. 16b is absent in the TSol. Although what we have here may be variants of a folklore motif or motifs, it is clear that elements of the shoham stone and the shamir motifs have been combined in the green stone motif as presented in the TSol. The cutting of the marble for the building as indicated the passage above echoes the shamir story in the rabbinic tradition because as I earlier indicated it was the shamir Solomon used to cut the stones for the Temple

[64] "The treasure of the stone" should suffice.
[65] Exod 25:12-13 (LXX); Jackson, Notes on the Testament of Solomon, 49-50.

building. A fundamental difference though, the act of cutting in the TSol was executed by the demons and not the shamir.

Despite the parallels many details surrounding the shamir in the rabbinic stories are absent in the TSol. Ashmedai's role in the BT in securing the shamir does not appear in the TSol. The binding of male and female demons who were first bound in Solomon's quest for the shamir is also absent in the TSol. The identities of the demons in both accounts do not correspond. Similarities between the TSol and rabbinic literature are in the form of conceptual parallels which are not identical for one to suggest any form of direct relationship between the TSol and rabbinic literature discussed here.

Solomon and the Demons in the TSol

The TSol certainly raises our awareness of the enormous role the demons played especially in the construction of the Temple. Solomon subjugated every demon and then employed them to specialised tasks in the Temple construction. A parallel idea we find in Pesiqta Rabbati is that demons were willing to assist Solomon in the Temple construction. The TSol enumerates the various roles the demons played in this project.

Asmodeus and Solomon

The Asmodeus-Solomon episode is contained in 5:1-13[66] but since I have already discussed section of this passage in my treatment of Tobit I shall be quoting only sections of the passage. My emphasis will be primarily on what

[66] HILPVW = vv.1-5; HILP=vv. 6-13.

transpired between Solomon and Asmodeus. I have divided the passage into two smaller sections for the purpose of analysis. The first deals mainly with the identity of Asmodeus and Solomon's encounter with the demon.

> (1) I commanded another demon be brought before me; and he (Beelzeboul) brought me the evil demon Asmodeus, bound. (2) I asked him, "who are you?" He scowled at me and said, "who are you?" (3) I said to him, you (dare to) answer (so arrogantly) when you have been punished like this?" He continued to give forth the same look and said to me, "How *should* I answer you? You are the son of a man, but although I was born of a human mother, I (am the son) of an angel; it is impossible for one of the heavenly origin (to speak) an arrogant word to one of earthly origin. (5) So do not ask me many things, Solomon, for eventually your kingdom will be divided. This glory of yours is temporary. You have us to torture for a little while; then we will disperse among human beings again with the result that we shall be worshiped as gods because men do not know the names of the angels who rule over us." (6) When I Solomon heard th[ese] things, I bound him with greater care. Then I ordered him to be flogged with a rod and to defend himself by stating his name and (reporting) his activity. (7) The demon said that, "I am renowned Asmodeus;

Asmodeus is introduced as a menacing demon who attempts to intimidate Solomon. The demon is connected with Solomon's downfall since he foretells the fate of Solomon's kingdom and how men would worship the demons as if they were gods in verse 5. Apart from the binding of the demon the next section describes Asmodeus' contribution to the construction work:

> (11) I said to him, "Is there something else about you, Asmodeus?" He said to me, "The power of God which binds me with unbreakable bonds by his seal knows that what I have related to you is true. I beg you, King Solomon, do not condemn me to water." (12) But I smiled and replied, "As the Lord, the God of my fathers lives, you shall have irons to wear and you shall make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple,[67] treading it down with your feet." Then I ordered ten water jars to be made available and (I commanded) him to be encircled by them. Though he complained bitterly, the demon carried out the things which he had been commanded, Asmodeus did this because he also had knowledge of the future. . . .(bd-b)

[67] ὅλην τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνατρίβων . . (for an emendation of verse 12, see Jackson, Notes on the Testament of Solomon, 41). See also my discussion in chapter 4.

Asmodeus was completely subjugated by Solomon as this was demonstrated in the demon actually participating in the construction of the Temple. For verse 12, I am following Conybeare and Jackson here who suggest that the demon was to make clay/mortar for the entire construction of the Temple. We also read about how the demon appeared to be terrified by water. He was subsequently bound with iron, and then encircled by ten water jars. What the text also reveals is the efficacy of the seal of God in verse 11. It is noteworthy that it is referred to not as Solomon's ring/seal but rather the seal of God.

Asmodeus plays an important role in the TSol although his role is different from the depiction in b. Git. 68a-b. While Ashmedai is the prince of the demons in the Talmud, in the TSol Beelzeboul is the ruler of demons. Asmodeus is a renowned malefactor in the TSol who describes himself as the son of both a human mother and an angel. Rarely, in the depiction of Ashmedai was the demon portrayed as evil. Ashmedai is nowhere identified in the BT or other rabbinic traditions as an evildoer or a malevolent character. He proved to be the architect of Solomon's downfall in the BT unlike the TSol. He is the shrewd character who questioned Solomon's authority when he enquired about Solomon's superiority over them. In the TSol there is a hint of this challenge when he retorted to Solomon's questioning, "Who are you?"

In the BT Ashmedai did not only help King Solomon to build the Temple by revealing the secret of the location of the mysterious shamir but he also taught him a lesson. One can therefore say that he was instrumental in the construction of the Temple. Perhaps Ashmedai's action in cajoling the king to

take off his chain and hand it over was meant to be didactic. And the sages may be right in remarking that Ashmedai's actions made the king see the emptiness and vanity of worldly possessions.

In the TSol Asmodeus had the foreknowledge of the future because he was able to predict the division of Solomon's kingdom (5:13). Similarly, Ashmedai in the BT had the ability to know the future. This notion of demonic prescience is shared by both Talmud and the TSol. In the Talmud, the demon's prescience is connected with ordinary people while in the TSol it is to do with Solomon's kingdom, and what would become of the demons.

According to the TSol Asmodeus was brought in to Solomon bound by Beelzeboul, while in the BT it was Benaiahu who performed this function. Furthermore, Solomon adjured Asmodeus by the name of the Lord Sabaoth and after Solomon interrogated him about his activities he was bound with irons. Solomon then commanded that he should be encircled with water and Asmodeus was assigned to mould clay/ mortar for the Temple construction.

The story about Solomon and Ashmedai in the Talmud, rabbinic traditions discussed and Asmodeus of the TSol do have points of contact. I have already alluded to some of these parallels in the portrayal of Asmodeus. A closer look at both stories reveals several divergences. This may be indicative of the manner the stories were developed and the different sources utilised. The function that Ashmedai was to play was brought to Solomon's attention by the male and female demons. In both accounts the demon was

instrumental in the building of the Temple; while in the TSol he had a direct involvement, in the Talmud Ashmedai was indirectly connected with the Temple construction in assisting Solomon to secure the shamir. Solomon interrogates Asmodeus in order to obtain information from him yet in both accounts he was bound. While the demon was adjured by the name of the Lord Sabaoth and then assigned to wear irons in the TSol, the Talmud goes into detail to tell us about the ring and the chain on which the divine name was inscribed.

Another demon that was captured through an intermediary is the wind demon Ephippas. His subjugation may be reminiscent of the capture of Ashmedai in two ways: the use of a human intermediary and the significance of Solomon's ring. Although a flask was employed in both accounts I do not find any relevant parallel. McCown[68] attempts to make a case for these parallels but I find them oblique. There may be similarities between the demon Enepsigos in TSol15 and Ashmedai. The former changes into three different forms, he was sealed with a triple-chain, and afterwards when he was bound he prophesied about the fate of Solomon's kingdom and how the Medes and Persians would destroy Jerusalem with the Temple.

There may be parallels between Ashmedai in b. Git. 68 a-b and Ornias in the TSol (1:8-13). Ornias, like Ashmedai, was not captured by Solomon himself but through an intermediary, Solomon's boy. His role represents Benaiahu's role in the Talmud. The boy was armed with the ring and he waited for Ornias

[68] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 62.

just like Benaiahu who waited for Ashmedai. But unlike the boy, Benaiahu had not only a ring with the divine name inscribed on it but also a chain on which the divine name was engraved. The boy placed the ring in contact with the demon's body and shouted, "Come, Solomon summons you." When Ashmedai woke up Benaiahu responded stating that the name of his master, Solomon, is upon the demon.

One of the three transformations[69] of Ornias was to become a creature with wings: "sometimes I become a creature with wings (flying) up to the heavenly regions" (2:3). As we read the story in b. Git. 68a-b we discover that suddenly Ashmedai appears with wings in front of Solomon. In the TSol it was Ornias' habit to fly up to the heavenly regions. In chapter 20 Solomon was anxious to know about how Ornias knew so much about future events. His reply was: "We demons go up to the firmament of heaven, fly around among the stars, and hear the decisions which issue from God concerning the lives of men" (v. 11). Two points worth noting here in drawing parallels between Ornias and Ashmedai. Firstly, Ashmedai travels up to the heavenly regions visiting the academy in heaven. Secondly, he has knowledge of the future, and also knowledge about things that happen elsewhere. Like the other demons two of their characteristics listed in b. Hag. 16a which make them similar to ministering angels are the ability to fly from one end of the world to the other, and to know what is determined in the future (מה שעתיד להיות). Ornias did know the future that was why he laughed at the judgement between the old man and his son in chapter 20. Ashmedai too laughed at the man who

[69] See McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 62-63.

wanted a shoe to be made to last him for seven years since he knew that the man will not live that long. Demons' prescience ability is documented elsewhere in the Talmud. Ornias was under guard for five days and so was Ashmedai who was detained by Solomon until completion of the Temple building.

There may be some general parallels between the demonology of the TSol and the BT but the former contains some demonological elements not found in the Talmud. Although the Ashmedai in the Talmud is entirely a different character from Asmodeus in the TSol it appears that the TSol certainly shares some of the Jewish tradition about Ashmedai and Solomon. Asmodeus in the TSol is very much similar in character to Ashmedai in Tobit. Ashmedai's role in the Talmud is similar to the one performed by Ornias.

Preliminary Conclusions

So far I have attempted to locate and compare various motifs, themes and stories connected with Solomon in rabbinic literature: Talmuds and Midrashim, with those found in the TSol. Some of these I intimated might have stemmed from or connected with the biblical texts themselves. The narrative expansions are a form of biblical exegesis. The point of departure for the rabbinic sources appears to be the Hebrew Bible.

The Talmud does not state that Solomon used demons to build the Temple; he needed the shamir, which was secured through the help of demons. There are sources, however, in the Midrashim which suggest that demons assisted

Solomon to build the Temple. While the shamir motif was used to explain 1 Kgs 6:7; the demon motif is brought into play to explain Qoh 2:8 and both motifs are combined in a single narrative. But again the shamir motif is there to explain why Solomon required the service of demons. So it seems that a particular motif which was meant to illuminate a biblical text was reused for another text. The latter does tell also about other functions that the demons perform with regards to Solomon. None of this however matches what we have in the TSol. The general idea that demons assisted Solomon in various activities including the building of the Temple which is evident in the Palestinian tradition of the Midrashim is more developed the TSol. The shamir is absent in the TSol but elements of the shamir and luminescent stones may be found in the green stone motif described in the TSol.

The Ashmedai-Solomon episode in the BT takes a different format in the TSol. The notion of revelation of esoteric knowledge from and the prescience of demons is shared by both the BT and TSol. Asmodeus who is pitted against Solomon in an antagonistic manner in the TSol is more sinister than Ashmedai in the BT. The demonology in the TSol appears more developed than what we find in the rabbinic literature. There are demonological elements which are present in the TSol source which cannot be found in the rabbinic sources. From the foregoing discussion there is not enough evidence to suggest that what we have in the TSol is rabbinic or that either the TSol or the rabbinic sources has depended upon each other.

The parallels in themes, motifs and stories with dissimilar characters and shared exegetical motifs are in no way an indication of a literary dependence. The specific parallels are not identical. They rather point to an indirect influence between the TSol and rabbinic literature due to the use of the biblical tradition (sacred Scriptures) and shared use of some form of Jewish oral tradition(s) regarding Solomon and demonology which might have provided a common fund for both rabbinic traditions and the TSol.

Chapter 11

Aramaic Incantation Texts and the TSol

Introduction

In this section I shall be discussing a group of Jewish texts which of ritual power. The Aramaic incantation bowls and amulets texts are usually called "magical texts" but I have followed others who have labelled them as "texts of ritual power" because of the negative connotations the word magic tends to carry.[1] Amulets are charms that contain incantations inscribed by a magician, and personalised for a specific client's use to ward off spirits.[2] In the late nineteenth century a corpus of magical materials discovered from Nippur, in Babylon were numerous inscribed bowls written in Jewish Aramaic,[3] Syriac and Mandaic.[4] Many of these bowls were excavated during an expedition of the University of Pennsylvania in 1888-89.[5] Alexander has dated these bowls between 300 to 600 CE on the basis of stratification.[6] Further, J. A. Montgomery emphasises a terminus ad quem for these texts as

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[1] Since the term magic is a loaded term and often carried with it ambiguities and negative connotations Davila who has averred his reluctance in using such term hence adopts the expression "ritual practices to gain power" which I have been using. This expression is neutral, and "less value laden." Rebecca Macy Lesses, and Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith utilised the same expression. See Meyer and Smith eds., Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994) 4, 1-14; and Lesses, Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism (HTS 44. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1998), 55-61 Davila has engaged us in an instructive discussion on magic in Descenders to the Chariot: The People behind the Hekhalot Literature, (JSJSup 70; Leiden/Boston, Massachusetts: Brill, 2001), 32-42.

[2] Alexander, "Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic C.CE 70-C.CE 270," in Cambridge History of Judaism, 3:1069. These texts are designed to gain ritual powers. See Shaked, "The Poetic Spells: Language and Structure in Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity 1: The Divorce Formula and its ramifications," in Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives (Tzvi Abusch and Karel van der Toorn, eds; Groningen: Styx, 1999), 173-95.

[3] Babylonian Aramaic of the Babylonian Gaonic period (See Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah , (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.), 18. The language resembles that of the Babylonian Talmud; see Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts, 15.

[4] Ibid., 18.

[5] Schiffman and Swartz, Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts, 17-18.

approximately 600 CE or possibly somewhat earlier in the sixth century.[7] Some of the bowls were found placed upside down under buildings. It has been indicated that they were put in this position under the houses as a means of protection. There were also instances where some of the bowls were placed together facing each other forming a closed sphere.[8] Perhaps the positions of the bowls were an attempt to trap and incarcerate demons.

Montgomery has highlighted that the bowls are more illustrative of the eclectic religious conditions of later Mesopotamia than of a special Jewish magic.[9] It is sometimes difficult to establish which bowl is for which client even though it has been suggested for example that the Syriac text are more likely to be Christian. While some of the bowls were prepared by Jewish practitioner for Jewish clients, others were prepared by Jews for non-Jews: Christians and Mandaeans.[10] I shall focus my attention on texts with Jewish content, in other words, those that clearly transmit Jewish traditions. It must be said that the incantations, the spells, the words, phrases and syllables are of more importance in these bowls than the praxis.[11]

The Seal/Signet Ring of Solomon, the son of David

There are two features common in the subsequent texts. Firstly, some of them refer to the signet ring of Solomon/King Solomon. Secondly, others have in addition to this title "the son of David." Although Montgomery, and J. Naveh

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[6] Alexander, HJP 3,1:552-53.
[7] Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts, 105, 158-59.
[8] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), 15.
[9] Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts,116.

and S. Shaked have published most of these texts, Cyrus H. Gordon,[12] has nevertheless made his own invaluable contributions. I shall refer to a metal amulet and a few of the incantation inscribed bowls. Most of the texts shall be limited to short quotes.

I. Metal Amulet

A silver amulet of a Palestinian provenance[13] mentions the signet ring of Solomon and a possible reconstruction of the missing lacunae may attest to the formulae, "King Solomon, son of David." This amulet also contains conventional Jewish expressions.[14] The text that appears below is the translation of Naveh and Shaked.

> (1) And by the rod of Moses and by the front-plate of Aaron (2) the high priest by the signet- ring of Solomon (בעזקתה דשלמה) and [ ][15] (3) [ ] of David and by the horns of the altar and by the nam[e](4) [ ] of the living and the existent God: that you should be expelled, (you,) [the evil](5)[s]pirit and the evil assailant and every evil (6) des[troyer]. .

II. Inscribed Bowls

The name of Solomon appears in a number of inscribed bowls below. The two texts from MSF below are translations from Naveh and Shaked. Bowl 18

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[10] Neusner, "Other Jews, Other Magicians," in A History of the Jews in Babylonia: Part 5, Later Sasanian Times (SPB 15; Leiden: Brilll, 1970), 217.
[11] Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts, 56, 110.
[12] C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Archiv Orientální 6 (1933-34): 319-34.
[13] Naveh and Shaked, Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), 91-94; Amulet 27 (MSF).
[14] Montgomery, "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," JAOS 31 (1911): 272-281, especially, 273.
[15] Torijano, Solomon the Esoteric King, 122. Torijano's suggested restoration מלכה ברה דדיד ("the King Son of David") is possible since such formula can occur in amulets of Palestinian provenance. However, the letters of the restoration are too many to fill in the vacant space. Montgomery has "with the shield" referring to the "shield of David" (Montgomery, "Some Early Amulets from Palestine," 272-81) and so is Naveh and Shaked (Amulets and Magic Bowls, 22).

(MSF)[16] is intended to protect houses, possessions, sustenance and people.

The name of Solomon appears in line 4:

> (4) This is the firm seal and protection and sealing of Solomon [וחתמתא דישלמא], for Panah -Hurmiz son of Rashndukh and for Rashndukh daughter of Khwasti, and for Baftoy daughter of Khwasti and for people of their houses, for their possessions, and for their sustenance and for their whole houses.

If in the above underscored phrase, "and sealing of Solomon," דישלמא is translated as "Solomon" then the name Solomon is spelled with a final "א."[17]

The reference to the signet ring of Solomon appears in the subsequent bowls.

Bowl 34 (AIT)[18] recounts the following:

> (8) And in his house[19] (and) his wife and his sons and his daughters and his cattle and his property and in all his dwelling; by the seal of ARYWN son of ZND and by the signet-ring of King Solomon son of David (דשלימון מלכא בר דויד) (9) by which were sealed the oppressors and the no-gooders.

This bowl is for the protection of a wife, her sons and daughters, cattle and property. The reference to King Solomon as the "son of David" in the context of the binding and the sealing of demons is significant in this text. The name of Solomon appears again in line 11 in conjunction with the signet in another Babylonian bowl (No 39; AIT):[20]

> (9) in . . .bound all defiling ghosts (10) that have entered, which appear to her in dreams of night and in visions of day; charmed and sealed with the signet-ring of (11) King Solomon (דשלי[מו]ן).

According Montgomery the text in bowl No 39 reads, "Solomon," despite the missing "mem" and "waw" in the Aramaic text. J. N. Epstein has nonetheless

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[16] Naveh and Shaked, Magic Spells and Formulae, 123.

[17] The final א and ה are known to be used interchangeable. The phrase may also mean "of wholeness, of peace" as suggested by Naveh and Shaked.

[18] Montgomery, Aramaic IncantationTexts, 231-232. Cf. Bowl 20 lines 7-10 (MSF).

[19] The translation is from Montgomery. The beginning of this line according to J. N. Epstein is ובביתה instead of Montgomery's בביתה without the "waw;" see Epstein, "Glosses Babylo-Araméens," REJ 74 (1922): 40-72 especially 51.

accepted this reconstruction.[21] The word for "king" is also a reconstruction leading to the phrase "King Solomon" which we now have in the translation above. The same appears in other texts and is occasionally followed by the "son of David" title.

Some of the texts published by Gordon in 1934[22] are worth mentioning at this juncture. Two of them refer to the signet ring of Solomon, son of David. I have reproduced Gordon's texts below. Text A reads:

> This charm is designated for the salvation, guarding and sealing of Farrûk, the son of Araznish, [and] all his dwelling. This is the signet-ring of king Solomon, the son (2) of David, (עיזקתא דשלמה בר דויד) to which no one can go, and before which no one stands.[23]

Text B echoes a similar motif:

> (4) they and their houses and their children and their property are sealed with the seal- ring of El Shaddai, blessed be He, and with the signet-ring of King (5) Solomon, the son of David, (בעיזקתה דישלומה) who worked spells on male demons and female liliths . . [24]

I would like to mention a series of Aramaic incantation texts published later by Gordon in 1941.[25] All these texts refer to King Solomon as the "son of David" in a context where demons were subjugated, protected against or thwarted in addition to the mention of the signet ring or sealing of Solomon:

> (15) . . I am going to bind you with the bond with which have been bound the seven planet[s and the twelve signs of the Zodiac unto the great day of judgement and unto the great ho]ur of salvation so that you shall not lift your head. (17). . . You are now bound, O devils, and ye are sealed, O demons! Bound are the demons. Sealed, devils. The devils are bound [ ] . . You do, with the bond of El Sadday and with

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[20] Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts, 248.
[21] Epstein, "Glosses Babylo-Araméens," 60-62.
[22] Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," 319-34.
[23] Ibid., 322.
[24] Ibid., 324-25.
[25] Gordon,"Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Orientalia 10 (1941): 116-31; 272-84; 339-60.

the sealing (18) of King Solomon son of [David. . .]
([דויד] בר מלכא דישלומו) Amen . . .[26]

It is important to note that the text above has a combination of both demonic and astrological elements. Although most of the Ashmolean bowls found at Kish are in a poor state, lines 13- 14 of No 1932.619 alludes to the seal ring of King Solomon, the son of David: (בעיזקתא דישלומו מלכא בר דויד).[27] And lines 13-14 of No 1932.620 in a context that deals with spirits and of demons has the following:

. . . they are bound [13] and sealed. . . with the signet-ring of Solomon
(וחתימי . . . בעזקתיה דשלמיה) [14] son of David, King of Israel
(בר דויד מלכא דישראל).[28]

Two other texts published by Gordon in 1934 come from bowls found in Kish. These texts (E and F)[29] appeared twice in two bowls from Kish. These texts to a larger extent are identical to the text from third bowl published by H. Hyvernat.[30]

> Sealed and countersealed are the house (and the garden) of Zîdîn Shabôr the son of Elîshebâ, with seventy knots, (2) with seventy bonds, with seventy seals, with a chain[31], with . . . .[32], With the signet-ring of Yokabar Zîwâ son of Rabbê, and with the seal-ring (3) of the Kasdiel, the mighty, the angel, the prince of the Chaldeans, [and with the seal-ring of Michael, the mighty, the angel, the prince of the law,] and with the seal-ring of Gabriel, (4) the mighty, the angel, the Prince of Fire; and with the signet- ring of Aspanadas-Dêwâ, the jinnee[33] of

[26] Charles D. Isbell, Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls (SBLDS 17; Missoula, Montana: SBL and Scholars Press, 1975). This Corresponds to Text 11 in Gordon, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls," 273-75.
[27] Ibid, 279
[28] Ibid.
[29] Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," 331-34.
[30] H. Hyvernat in "Sur un Vase Judeéo-Babylonian du Musée Lycklam de Cannes (Provence)," Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung 2 (1885): 113-48.
[31] Gordon has translated this word based on the assumption that the word זוזמרי is synonymous to the word שושירא which is translated as "chain," contra Davila who has translated it as "ropes." See Davila, Descenders to the Chariots, 220-21.
[32] In place of these words we have the following בשישין אבני זימרא, "sixty songs of Melody" in the Hyvernat's bowl.
[33] Although the bowls reflect life and beliefs in Babylonia the presence of a foreign word as "jinnee" (גינא or גינאה) in this bowl text raises up the issue of a date later than generally

> King Solomon, the son of David; and with the seal-ring of King Solomon, the son of David [and with the seal-ring(5) and with the seal-ring of King Solomon, the son of David]; and with the great seal of the Lord of the universe, whose seal cannot be broken and whose seal cannot be broken. Blessed art thou, O Lord God of Israel. Amen, amen, selah.[34]

The incantation is used for protecting a man's house by invoking the powers of the seal rings of guardian angels, of Solomon and his jinnee, and of God, Himself. What is important here apart from the often-noted expression, "the seal ring of Solomon, the son of David," is the explicit reference to the ring of Michael and the jinnee of Solomon. The phrases and expressions such as "sealed and countersealed," a chain, knots, bonds are incidental. The predilection for these expressions is not uncommon in incantation texts. The reference to the jinnee of Solomon echoes what we find in the TSol. Solomon had demons at his disposal that he harnessed for several roles. Unfortunately, the aforementioned text does not elaborate on this.

The signet ring/seal (עיזקתא) is variously described as the signet- ring/seal of Solomon, of Solomon, the son of David; of King Solomon, the son of David; the seal ring of Michael, the prince of the law; the seal ring of El Shaddai; the seal of Solomon; the seal of Aspanadas Dewa; jinnee of King Solomon, the son of David. There is an indication that the seal/signet ring was mentioned as being in the possession of personages other than Solomon. The name Rabbi Joshua B. Perahia appears in the texts of some of the bowls (the "Joshua bowls"), for example, Bowl 34 line 2 (AIT). Michael and the jinnee of Solomon

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suggested for some of these bowls. This may indicate that the text in question may have been composed long after the Islamic conquest for an Arabic word to have been absorbed into the culture of the natives (cf. Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," 319).

also appear in some of these texts.[35] The frequency of which reference is made to the ring of Solomon in conjunction with Solomon's genealogical title, "King Solomon, the son of David" is noteworthy. There is however clear evidence that the tradition of the ring of King Solomon, the son of David was known by both the creators and clients of the incantations of the bowls and amulets at least in Mesopotamia. Moreover, an amulet from Palestine may attest to a similar tradition.

We must now pay special attention to the function of the signet rings. While the threat of the demons or evil spirits is clear in some of the texts, it is not as explicit in others hence it is difficult to establish from what demonic activities were the clients specifically protected. In the Joshua bowls the ring was used to affix a seal to a writ of divorce used against demons, especially the liliths. In other cases the signet ring was utilised to expel demons. It renders the demons incapacitated and prevents them from escape. In more than one text it was a means of protecting families, houses, cattle and properties against the schemes of the demons. Some of these schemes listed were the killing of children, disturbing the clients' peace by appearing in their sleep at night or day in the form of apparitions. The ultimate objective in using the ring was to thwart the nefarious activities of demons.

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[34] The bracketed sections are those sections in E that are lacking in F; and sections in F which are lacking in E are in parenthesis.
[35] See B. Levine, "The Language of the Magical Bowls," in A History of the Jews in Babylonia, 5:366.

The TSol

In the TSol the signet ring from God brought to Solomon through Michael the archangel was an effective apotropaic device against demons. The section which introduces the ring (δακτυλίδιον)[36] opens like this

> . . . there was granted to me from the Lord Sabaoth through the archangel Michael a ring which had a seal engraved on precious stone. He said to me, 'Solomon, son of David, take that gift which the God, the highest Sabaoth, has sent to you; (with it) you shall imprison all demons, both male and female with their help you shall build Jerusalem when you bear this seal of God.' (1:6-7)

In the aforementioned text the ring had a seal (δακτυλίδιον ἐχον σφραγίς) but as one progresses in the TSol it seems that ring and the seal were used interchangeably. Sometimes the word "seal" (σφραγίς)[37] is used to refer to the ring. In the same passage the ring is referred to as the "seal of God." The signet ring was described variously as the ring which had the a seal engraved on precious stone (1:6), seal of God (1:7, 15:7), the ring bearing God's seal (10.6), and the ring of God (7:3, 8:12,10:7; 26:9 [MS H]). It is noteworthy that it was not once referred to as the signet ring of Solomon, Son of David or Michael although both were bearers of the ring.

As to the function of the signet ring, it was used in similar fashion to subjugate other demons either when in the hand of Solomon, a demon (3:1-4) or a human intermediary, Solomon's, boy (1:8-12; 10:5; 22:9-15). As we find in the incantation bowls, the ring was utilised by other personages. The frequency in the use of the ring to seal and subjugate the demons cannot be disputed.

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[36] The word occurs in several places in the TSol: δακτυλίδιον appears in Rec B 1:6, 8, 9; MS L 1:10; MS W I:11,12; L 2: 5; 3:13; 7:3; 8:12; 10:6; MS P 13:3, 16:7, 22:10,11,13, 24:2; MS H 26:9. Δακτύλιος in Rec C 1.6,8; Rec C 3:1,3; MS W 1:12 MS D 2:6, 6:5; MS P 10:6.

[37] 1:6, 7, 8, 2:9; 5:11, 10:6, 14:2, 15:7, 22:9; Rec B 22:11; MS H 26:8; Rec C 9:9, 12:1,4; 13:6,11; MS D 2:6, 7, 8,9,10; 3:3,4: 6:3,13; 7:3.

The general trend of the signet ring in the TSol is to perform one function and that is to seal the demons and subjugate them. In 2:5 the ring was used to seal Ornias; in 3:1-4 it was used to incapacitate Beelzeboul; and in 7:3 Lix Tetrax was sealed with the ring of God. In 8:12 the seven stoicheia were sealed with the ring of God; in 10:6 another demon was sealed. In 15:7 the demon Enepsigos was sealed and bound with the seal with the seal of God. There are instances in which the ring was used differently though. In 16:7 and 22:13 demons were trapped within containers with the aid of the ring. In 26:9 (MSH) the ring was used to seal the Testament.

The "son of David" formula: "(king) Solomon, the son of David," in the context of exorcism is significant in our discussion for three reasons. Firstly, it must be said that the genealogical formula "Solomon, the son of David" occurs passim in the various MSS of the TSol,[38] moreover, the word "king" is incorporated in the formula only in 20:1. Even so, the context has nothing to do with the subjugation of or the protection from demons. The formula has no significance pertaining to authority over demons here since the appeal to Solomon was for justice or revenge. It also occurs in the titles of MSS PQI; Rec C: 12:1, 13:12; MS D 1:1; MS E 11:1 and MS H 26:9. In these titles the genealogical formula appear in conjunction with the motif of Solomon's power over the demonic force of air, earth and under the earth and how he harnessed them to build the Temple. In Rec 12:1 (MS C) the demon Paltiel addresses Solomon while in 13:10 of the same recension Solomon speaks of himself. Perhaps the most important reference to the genealogical formula is

[38] See Torijano," Solomon the Esoteric King, 124-27.

the reference in 5:10 (MSS HILP and D) because this is a characteristic demonological context dealing with an encounter between Solomon and Asmodeus. Solomon seems to be appealing to his title (he is the son of David) as an authority for revelatory purposes. Although this occurrence is not found in the titles of the TSol, and it appears in both major recensions. There however no mention of the ring in this particular passage.

Secondly, unlike the Aramaic incantation texts the signet ring was never referred to with the title in the TSol. In 1:7 the occurrence of formula is not referring to the ring but Solomon.[39] Thirdly, the occurrence of the formula in an exorcist context where both demonological and astrological elements as illustrated in Text 11 of Gordon (vide supra note 26) may have a parallel in the TSol. In the TSol there are numerous occasions where astrological elements merge with demonological ones.

Preliminary Conclusions

The relevant parallels above do not shown identical correspondences between the TSol and Aramaic incantation texts. Both point to Solomon's power over demons and spirits, and the apotropaic properties of a ring or rings linked with the name of Solomon and Michael. The connection between this apotropaic and therapeutic device with the "son of David" formula is incidental in the TSol while in the incantations in the inscribed bowls this formula seems to appear almost indiscriminately whenever the ring of Solomon is mentioned. Another fundamental difference though, the ring was

[39] Torijano refuses to consider this passage because he thinks the passage is part of the "structural framework of the exorcistic material" of the TSol.

never referred to as the "signet ring of Solomon" even when Solomon was the one who received it. Although the role of angels seems to play an important function in both texts Michael's role in the TSol is not as eminent as in some of the Aramaic incantation texts. Nowhere in the TSol is the signet ring mentioned in his name. The most important role Michael played in the TSol was to be the only angel through whom the signet ring was entrusted to Solomon. As regards to the specific protection from the demons, the TSol has a very comprehensive list of the diseases and calamities caused by the demons. Both documents speak of the prophylactic use of rings. Although most of the Aramaic incantation texts that I have examined are not always explicit in the specific protection there are nonetheless few general parallels with the TSol. Both the TSol and Aramaic incantation texts are preoccupied with demons and spirits, and both attest to an association between astrological and demonological elements. The relationship between the TSol and Aramaic incantation texts may be explained by an indirect influence. Both could have utilised materials from a common fund of tradition(s) attesting to Solomon's power over demons; a ring tradition associated with Solomon already intimated by Josephus; and a tradition dealing with the adjuration and apotropaic use of angels.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have presented a mass of detailed discussion on the relationship between the TSol, and Jewish materials of late antiquity dating between the closing centuries BCE and the Talmudic era, and the NT. Since I do not wish to repeat observations made earlier I therefore intend to formulate my analysis of this relationship around the two main parallels. These are verbal and conceptual parallels.[1] The latter seems to be dominant in my discussion. The verbal parallels occur in two forms, the first is the use of technical terminology; and the second is quotations, allusions and/ echoes, which are few and far between. The second type of parallels appears in the form of motifs and themes, structural elements and ideas. The main idea that runs through the TSol is about King Solomon's wisdom. This is illustrated in two main motifs (1) Solomon's power over demons, and (2) the Temple. The author of the TSol has combined various aspects about Solomon, most of which are biblical, including his building activity accompanied by Solomon's insight into the world of demonology we find in the TSol. How does all this relate to Jewish literature of antiquity? Do the parallels suggest any form of literary borrowing or literary dependency?

The relationship between the Hebrew text of 1 Kings 1-11 and 2 Chronicles 1-9 and the TSol is limited to shared stories and themes regarding the Wisdom of Solomon, the Temple building, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, Solomon's judicial skills, his passion for foreign women and apostasy, and the reference to

[1] I am here following Davila's criteria of categorisation for verbal and conceptual parallels which I refer to in my introduction.

the divided kingdom. In some of the cases, except for the ideas, the stories do not precisely parallel each other. The rewriting technique of the author of the TSol in treating his biblical sources could be placed into three categories: (i) a whole story or elements of a story was omitted; (ii) additions in the form of stories or new elements to stories not in the biblical tradition were introduced (iii) The biblical story appears in an abbreviated version such as the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba. The boundaries between these categories should not be perceived as strict but rather fluid. The same phenomenon applies for the relationship between the LXX text and the TSol. The two technical terms, σοφός and φρόνησις, are frequently used in the LXX to accentuate Solomon's wisdom and to present him as a paradigmatic king within a Hellenistic milieu are also used by the TSol.

There are few verbal allusions in the TSol that can be traced as allusions and echoes from the LXX. The first is the angel of the great counsel passage in TSol 12:3 a similar passage is also found in Isa 9:6. The cornerstone imagery in the TSol 23:4 may be implicated likewise although the TSol passage appears to be closer to 1 Peter 2:4-6 than Ps 117:22-23.[2] Duling points out that this is the only canonical citation in the TSol.[3] There is also an allusion to the deities, Moloch and Raphan, in TSol 22:3-5 mentioned in Amos 5:26 (LXX). The TSol knew the biblical story concerning Solomon's wisdom and related themes. The author of

[2] This is a possible verbal parallel with the NT. The author of the former signals to his readers that he is quoting from an authoritative text by using the formula: ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λεγουσα. The combination of two OT texts here closely mirrors 1 Peter: 2:4-6 although the TSol's application of the passage is very much OT than NT.
[3] Duling, "Testament of Solomon," 954.

the TSol could have utilised either the LXX or the Hebrew text since there are no major differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts on the depiction Solomon, but his usage for LXX terminology with regards to Solomon's wisdom despite the lack of overwhelming preponderance may indicate that he drew upon the LXX in this respect. The verbal parallels may also suggest that he utilised the LXX for developing his themes and motifs in the TSol. I must again reiterate that at times he did not follow strictly the biblical tradition since there is clear evidence that he used materials not contained in the biblical tradition.

A well established aspect of Solomon's reputation is his literary skills. The Solomonic corpus attest to this and this may have influenced the Solomonic attribution of this pseudipigraphical writing. The notion that Solomon composed literary works may go back to 1 Kings, and this may further provide the basis for the flowering Solomonic tradition(s) that connects Solomon with incantations and his power over demons as reflected in Josephus, LAB, Wisdom of Solomon, the texts of ritual power such as the Aramaic incantations bowls and an amulet. There are no significant parallels however between the Solomonic corpus and the TSol except for the general perception regarding Solomon literary skills demonstrated in his writing of the Testament and the usage of the "son of David" title as applied to King Solomon. This title seems to be an important component in some of those texts of ritual power.

Most of the conceptual parallels between the TSol and Josephus revolve around Solomon's wisdom. Verbal parallels do occur but they are very few and are limited to the Greek terms describing Solomon's wisdom (σοφία, φρόνησις and σύνεσις), and another word χαλκήν used for the vessels in the Temple. There are similar ideas in the retelling of the biblical story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba and the kings, Solomon's demise and his love for women. Additionally, there are parallel motifs such as Solomon's judicial savoir-faire, the ring, Solomon and the demons, and similar modus operandi utilised during exorcism. The mention of exorcism and incantations in Josephus and the contents of the TSol are also points of contact. This might have led Conybeare to posit the possibility that TSol in its original form might have been the collection of incantations mentioned by Josephus[4] but I think he is wrong since there is insufficient data to support this. In my estimation, the parallels are imprecise and therefore do not show that there has been any form of dependency between Josephus on the TSol. Both have used the biblical tradition concerning Solomon, and this mainly explains the parallels in stories and biblical themes and motifs regarding Solomon, the Temple building, the visit of Sheba, Solomon judicial acumen, and the apostasy of Solomon. Moreover, other factors such as cultural conventions and shared use of literary language, and ideas may explain these parallels.

The reference to demonological elements and incantations in connection with Solomon's power over demons are obviously not biblical. Both have departed

[4] Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 12.

from the well-known biblical tradition even though it provided a common source for and explains some of the points of contact between both documents. They have utilised extra-biblical tradition(s)—a common fund of tradition(s) containing motifs and themes and stories not found in the Scriptures, and each has been quite selective in their use of these materials. This common fund of tradition may have included an oral tradition which is amorphous and expanding, the Glossa Ordinaria according to James Kugel's definition[5] or some form of written tradition(s) which does not exist any longer or a combination of both which connects Solomon with exorcism, incantations and demonology. This may represent, as Michael J. Gilmour suggests, "'a contemporary grid' or 'paradigm' that both supplemented and interpreted the biblical stories"[6] about Solomon, and such phenomenon may very well explain the similarities between the TSol and Josephus with regards to the general idea that Solomon had control over demons.

Again as I have demonstrated conceptual parallels seem to dominate the parallels between the TSol and the religious Jewish writings generally categorised as the OT Apocryphal writings that date from approximately 200 BCE and 50 CE. Two books discussed that fall under this category are Wisdom of Solomon and Tobit. The only noteworthy verbatim agreement between the TSol and Wisdom of Solomon besides the parallel technical terminology (τεχνῖται,τεχνίτης, βία) is the phrase τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν. Is it

[5] Kugel, In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts , 266.
[6] Gilmour, The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature, 72.

a coincidence that this quotation not only occurs in one of the works attributed to Solomon, but is also mentioned specifically in connection to the king's wisdom? Although the TSol does not acknowledge his source a modern reader would detect the similarity between TSol 3:5 and Wis 9:4. It seems that the TSol knew this phrase somehow but whether the author had Wisdom of Solomon in front of him is difficult to ascertain for such isolated parallel.

The conceptual parallels pertain to Solomon's wisdom with respect to themes and motifs mainly centre on Wis 7:15-22. I discussed the elevated view of wisdom, the Listenwissenschaft and its connection with Solomon's knowledge about demonology and magic, the hypostatised aspect of wisdom, and Solomon's knowledge which includes store of demonology and astrology. The aforementioned conceptual parallels are due to shared Solomonic traditions. A similar phenomenon to what occurs in the relationship between Josephus and the TSol regarding traditions that both supplement and interpret biblical stories may be at work here. The point of contact with respect to ideas regarding Solomon's knowledge between these two documents may also attributed to the fact that both drew from the biblical tradition concerning Solomon's knowledge and literary composition in 1 Kgs 4:29-34 (=MT 5:9-14).

The best case for direct dependence of the TSol on a Jewish work is evidenced in Tobit. The parallels here appear in the form of ideas, themes and motifs. The parallels between Tobit and the TSol 5 are more conceptual. The role and names

of the main protagonists (Raphael and Asmodeus) in both documents are identical. Asmodeus is pitted against Raphael in both documents. The former is presented as the malevolent character while the latter is the solution to the problem caused by former. Furthermore, the apotropaic use of the organs of a fish and the thwarting technique of fumigation are similar in both documents. The TSol might have known this story as presented in Tobit since there is no other document that attests to a similar story. But what the author of the TSol might have done is to use the main motif and theme of Tobit's story having Asmodeus and Raphael as the main protagonist. The parallels here are not coincidental or fortuitous since they do not occur elsewhere. The manner in which the story was developed in the TSol suggests that the TSol was familiar with the story as found in Tobit but due to authorial creativity naturally reworked his source that makes the end product quite unlike his source material. And in the process of reworking his source he has added the Solomonic component which is lacking in the original tradition (Tobit). It is also possible that the author of the TSol might have inherited an oral form of this particular story in Tobit rather than having Tobit in front of him.

The affinities between the pseudepigrapha and the TSol as demonstrated in my discussion are confined to conceptual parallels. Two parallel motifs appear in TSol and LAB. The more important of the two is the reference to a future son of David who will subjugate demons and evil spirits; the second is the mention of the magical qualities of the precious stones. Although there is no indication that

the TSol knew LAB what the analysis suggests is that both were aware of tradition(s) linking Solomon, son of David with power over demons. The precious stone motif may just be coincidental.

The correspondence between the TSol and Qumran materials are mainly in the form of structural parallels with respect to demonology in two different texts. The structural parallels between the Apocryphal Psalms and the TSol are in terms of the identifying formula, self disclosure, demonic activities and the thwarting agents while the structural parallel between the TSol and 4Q560 are to do with the name and gender of the demons, the diseases they caused and the adjuration in the first person. Parallels in ideas are related to the invocation of angels, Raphael's role, dualism and the use of the name of God in the context dealing with demons. The reference to the name of Solomon in the context dealing with demonology and ritual practices to gain power is also noted. There are also general parallels in technical term in the use of the words like "oath" and "demons." The parallels in ideas and technical terminology are too general for one to posit a genetic relationship between the TSol and the aforementioned Qumran texts. These aforementioned ideas do not indicate any form of literary dependence in any direction. The parallel in structural elements and similarities in ideas between the TSol and the Qumran texts discussed may not be unique since similar ideas and structural elements are found elsewhere especially in incantation texts or those dealing with the exorcism or the thwarting of demons. These texts share the same demonological thought-world and cultural

conventions. There is absolutely no indication that TSol utilised sources from Qumran or was familiar with these materials. The association between Solomon and incantation and exorcism again could be attributed to this popular circulating tradition regarding the reputation of Solomon, a magician per excellence.

The similarity between the TSol and rabbinic literature are also confined to conceptual parallels which appear as shared themes, ideas and stories. Those discussed earlier are the Solomon-Ashmedai episode; the shamir, the luminescent properties of precious stones and the green stone, Solomon and his relationship with the demons both in obtaining the shamir and the building of the Temple. The conceptual correspondences between the TSol and rabbinic literature discussed here point not only to the common use of biblical materials but also similar midrashic traditions regarding Solomon, some of which might have existed in oral form. The TSol show that the author was in contact with the traditions that were incorporated in or originated from rabbinic literature.

Another example of shared cultural convention and thought world is evident in a group of texts of ritual power which are the Aramaic incantation texts. They share some affinities with the TSol but in a rather general way. The main idea in these texts that parallels the TSol is the well established tradition regarding Solomon's power over demons and spirits. Additionally, the Aramaic Incantation texts attest to the potency of Solomon's ring which is an integral component of the magicians' paraphernalia while the TSol mentions the powerful seal "ring of

God." In connection to this, the son of David title seems to be a significant component of the identity of the seal ring of Solomon in some of these texts. The affinity between this group of texts and the TSol as far as Solomon's reputation is concerned could be explained in terms of similar traditions; while the demonology and ritual praxes could be attributed to shared cultural convention and thought-world.

Finally, the TSol shares a number of interesting and varying parallels with the Gospels. Verbal parallels occur mainly in the forms of allusions, echoes, technical phrases and terms, and occasional quotations. They show a certain degree of verbatim agreement between the TSol and the NT. Two of these verbal parallels are noted[7]. The first is the cry of the old man in TSol 20:1 which echoes the words of blind Bartimaeus in Mark 10:47 ("son of David, Have mercy on me"). While the addressee in the latter refers to Jesus, the words in the TSol's were addressed to Solomon, the son of David. The second verbal is a reference to Jesus as an angel of the great counsel in TSol 12:3. Although the text is clearly an OT allusion (LXX) of Isa 9:6 the interpretation of this passage as utilised in the TSol is very much Christian, perhaps a reflection of the NT or post NT traditions. The TSol shares more verbal parallels with the NT than any of the Jewish documents already discussed. The author of the TSol was definitely drawing upon OT traditions for his depiction of the angel of the great counsel.

[7] Vide supra note 2.

The majority of technical terms and phrases such as the demonic cry, the word for adjuration (ὁρκίζω), στοιχεῖα, κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους, ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ δυνάμεις, and the son of David title show some similarities with the NT. There is further evidence of correspondence when we consider the allusions to the Gospels which include the ministry of Jesus, the depictions of Beelzeboul and the Queen of Sheba, and the expression the "ring of God" in the TSol which is reminiscent of the 'finger of God' in Luke. Conybeare has averred that the TSol was using the same phraseology and idioms as the writers of the NT[8] while McCown has explained that the relation between the TSol and the NT in terms of an "auricular knowledge" because of the author's superficial knowledge of the NT.[9] Both Conybeare and McCown have expressed their hesitation to argue for a literary connection between the TSol and NT despite the verbal parallels. The affinities between the NT and the TSol can be explained as follows: Firstly, there is evidence of a shared thought-world and use of shared Christian language milieu of which an aural knowledge is significant. This may explain the verbal parallels between the two documents. Secondly, the TSol made use of the NT and post NT traditions (literal or oral). Thirdly, the TSol used the OT tradition, especially, the LXX.

In sum I have argued for two main types of parallels between the TSol and Jewish materials of late antiquity and the NT. There is no need to appeal to literary dependence as an explanation for parallels. They can be explained thus:

[8] Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," 5-10.
[9] McCown, The Testament of Solomon, 69.

(i) a shared use of the biblical tradition, (ii) a shared cultural conventions and thought-world (iii) the existence of a common fund of tradition—the Glossa Ordinaria, (iv) shared use of literary language; for example, Christian language milieu and traditions. An indirect influence may explain the relationship between the TSol and many of the documents discussed. With reference to the verbal parallels there is some degree of ambivalence whether the TSol had some of these texts in front of him in order to argue for a literary dependency because other factors such as the length of the parallel section(s) should be taken into consideration. Gilmour has pointed out how hard it can be to base our conclusion merely on words and short phrases[10]. Another factor to be noted is the preponderance and frequency of these parallels. I am inclined to think that some of the verbal parallels could be explained by the similar thought-world, and language milieu of which aural knowledge plays an important part.

The best case here for a direct dependence on Jewish materials can be found in the relationship between the TSol and Tobit. There is also evidence of dependence on the NT. Despite the Jewish colouring of the TSol, it is clearly a Christian composition which has utilised Jewish materials from both canonical and semi-canonical sources. Furthermore, it is right to say the TSol is a literature in a class by itself. The thought-world of demons, though reminiscent of some of the documents discussed here, is nonetheless unique. There is a preoccupation with the demonic world. The demons cannot only be thwarted but can be set to perform tasks. They have the ability to reveal information and knowledge to their

[10] Gilmour, The Significance of Parallels, 52.

captor. The TSol contains extensive demonic lore. Its angelology is also unique in that not only were they power thwarting agents against demons but Jesus himself was regarded as a thwarting agent. The TSol appears to be have been composed by a Christian(s) who have utilised Jewish materials and traditions, and it is not improbable that the whole work was composed by a Christian; most of the Jewish colouring of the TSol comes from canonical and deutero-canonical sources with which Christians were generally familiar.

Selected Abbreviations

ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
AIT	Aramaic Incantation Texts
AJSLL	American Journal Semitic Languages and Literature
AMB	Amulets and Magic Bowls
APOT	The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
BR	Biblical Research
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
DDD	Dictionaries of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
EncJud	Encyclopaedia Judaica
HALOT	The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HJP	The History of the Jesus People in the Age of Jesus Christ
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell H. G. R. Scott, H. S., A Greek –Lexicon
LXX	The Septuagint
MSF	Magic Spells and Formulae

MT	Masoretic Text
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies
OT	Old Testament
OTP	Old Testament Pseudepigrapha
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae
REJ	Revue des études juives
RevQ	Revue de Qumran
RHPHR	Revue de l'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk årsbok
SHR	Sepher Ha-Razim
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	World Bible Commentary
WUNT	Wisenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeistschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZHT	Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie

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